THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

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The Gist of It

EDITORS and readers alike are under obligation to THOMAS H. BENTON for the reproduction of his delightful Southern Planter on the cover of this issue of Survey Graphic.

THE Red Cross has never before undertaken a task of civilian relief of the magnitude of its present drought work. Compared with the great Mississippi flood, drought involves at least one hundred thousand more victims, in three times as many states and over twice as long a period. The dimensions of the task and the way it is being done are described on page 581 by A. L. SCHAFER, director of disaster relief, who has held various executive positions in the Red Cross following his earlier experience as a schoolmaster.

HOUSING reformers are greatly excited over the Lower East Side of New York, for this most outstanding example of the America which was charged with supporting foreign missions while it created domestic slums, is changing. On page 584 LOULA D. LASKER, of the staff of Survey Graphic, tells the dramatic story of the modern apartments which are here and there replacing old tenements and of the plans not of dreamers but of very practical men who propose to make of the East Side a high grade residential district.

NOTHING could be more ironical than the report of a commission finding that the grandsons of American freedmen have themselves become virtual slave-dealers in the modern guise of forced labor. On page 590 ALAIN LOCKE writes of modern slavery in various colonies and mandates of virtuous European powers and suggests the part the United States should play. Dr. Locke, who is professor of philosophy at Howard University, was sent in the summer of 1927 by the Foreign Policy Association to observe the work of the Commission on Permanent Mandates of the League of Nations and the Commission on Native Labor of the International Labor Office, and has given some time in Geneva each summer to further observations.

GOING legislative efforts to take up some of the slack in wage-earners' incomes through compulsory unemployment insurance were detailed in the February Survey Graphic by Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago. On page 596 of this issue, WILLIAM M. LEISERSON, now professor of economics at Antioch College, formerly chairman of the Labor Adjustment Board of the men's clothing industry, continues the discussion with a comparison of the hazards faced by wage-earners and by stockholders in weathering industrial unemployment. His article is a shortened draft of a much discussed paper he presented before the American Economic Association at its recent annual meeting in Cleveland.

NOT as a gift from a paternalistic if broad-visioned employer, but as the fruit of whole-hearted co-operation between management and the unions, the workers in Baltimore and Ohio Railway shops have achieved regular employment and income. The story of this realistic drive on unemployment is told (page 601) by OTTO S. BEYER, engineering counsel to the shopcraft unions and other labor organizations.

FORMERLY a member of Pennsylvania's State Industrial Board and head of the public works committee of the 1921 Unemployment Conference, OTTO T. MALLERY carries forward his argument (page 605) in favor of prosperity reserves (see Survey Graphic, April 1929) in the light of the painful lessons the depression is giving us.

THE hilarious stories of how people use and try to misuse to the annoyance of their neighbors, the services of a state laboratory, grows out of the daily experience of R. L. LAYBOURN, who is bacteriologist in charge of laboratories of the Missouri State Board of Health. His duties take him about the state in connection with the control of communicable diseases, even to the point of being locked in the cell-block with a particularly dangerous gang of convicts who were suspected of having firearms as well as meningitis. Page 607.

OUR readers scarcely need an introduction to C.-E. A. WINSLOW, professor of public health at the Yale School of Medicine, who has recently made an appraisal of the work of the Cattaraugus County Health Demonstration conducted by the Milbank Memorial Fund. His findings are briefly set forth on page 610 and will shortly appear in Health on the Farm and in the Village, to be published by Macmillan. By the Cattaraugus experience, the needs and the cost of health service are almost identical in city and country; the country is almost wholly neglected; we must find some way of state and perhaps federal help, on the basis of road-building, for the country cannot afford to keep itself well and we cannot afford to let it be sick.

THE bitter days that preceded the trial of Thomas Mott Osborne on a charge of perjury; the collapse of the case against him; his triumphant return to Sing Sing; his war service at Portsmouth Naval Prison with the amazing incident of the convicts lost outside the walls in a high-powered car, who spent all night finding their way back to prison; his sudden death and the funeral held at Auburn—all these closing incidents of Osborne's career are told in the final instalment of FRANK TANNENBAUM'S articles, page 614.

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Courtesy New York Regional Art Council

MARKET DAY IN THE MOUNTAINS BY JAMES R. HOPKINS

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THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

March 1, 1931

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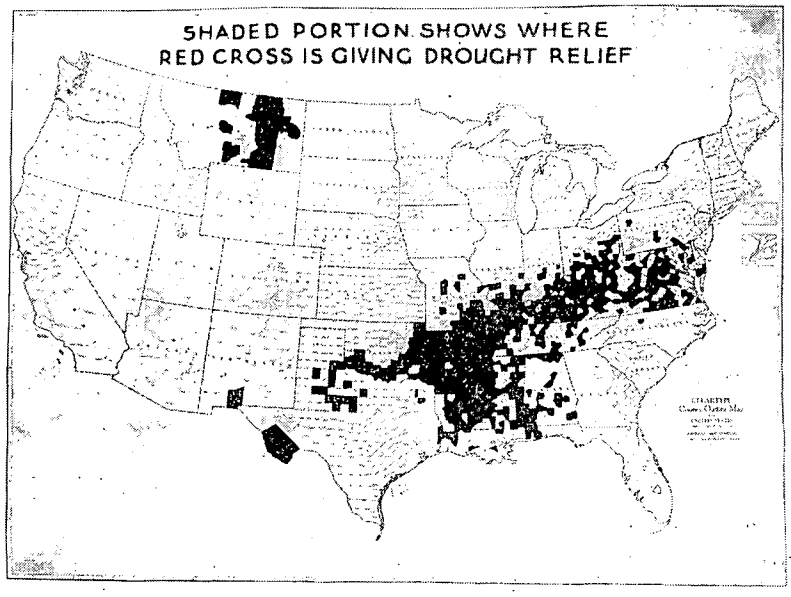
When Hunger Followed Drought

By A. L. SCHAFER

THE biggest relief operation this country has ever known in peace times is extending itself over drought-stricken areas in twenty-one states, reaching its long arm up the mountain trails and dry creek beds of Kentucky, down into the bottom lands of Arkansas, over the arid prairies of Oklahoma and the cotton fields of Mississippi. This is no problem in mass relief such as the Mississippi flood of 1927, when 600,000 victims in seven states were assembled in convenient refugee camps. Today the victims are still in their homes, widely scattered and inaccessible. Dulled and hopeless with misfortune, livestock gone, every resource exhausted, initiative killed, they sit and wait. Help must reach them or starvation will.

They call it drought relief, this big job which the Red Cross has undertaken. But it is more than that. Drought was just the last straw. Before the burning, rainless summer of 1930 this part of the country had suffered a series of crop failures and flood after flood. Modest accumulation of reserves had been eaten up. Then cotton dropped from twenty to eight or ten cents a pound. Business depression overspread the land, banks closed, credit dried up. Gradually the area of distress widened. Last October, 238 counties in Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Texas were in trouble—but not too serious. Seeds for winter pasturage and for fall gardens were, for the moment, a sufficient form of help. November was not so bad. Cotton picking and other seasonal work gave a little help. The larder was not quite empty. A few chickens and a pig or two were still around the dooryard.



But with December came crisis. Food and clothing were needed—and quickly. By the first of January the Red Cross was reaching into 338 counties, touching some 225,000 people. In thirty days the number leaped to 701,000 persons in 663 counties of nineteen states. In the early days of February districts in two more states were added to the relief map. And still no one dared say when the peak would be reached!

Seasoned as the Red Cross is in disaster relief, this winter's experience is writing new pages in its history. "We must go to the people. They cannot come to us. We follow the roads as long as there are roads. Then we take to pack mules. And always and often there is shank's mare to fall back on. You reach an isolated cabin and find a gaunt family subsisting on cornmeal and blue milk. A skeleton cow stares at you, a dead mule lies over in the field. Clothing is in rags. 'No ma'am, we ain't hongry. We still got half a sack o'meal an' ole Sukey ain't dry yet. There's folk worse off'n us. Now back yander in the woods. . . .'

"So we go 'back yander' and we find families sleeping in leaves huddled together on the floor. Beds and stoves have been sold to the junkman for a few cents. Roots dug in the woods, a few stunted turnips, are all they have to eat. 'Yes'm, we're bad off, but they say there's

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The Red Cross is doing case work family by family

folks up the crick that's worse.' So up the dry bed of the crick we toil. Yes, he was right. They are worse. We don't dare fail to follow up every report. So often it is true."

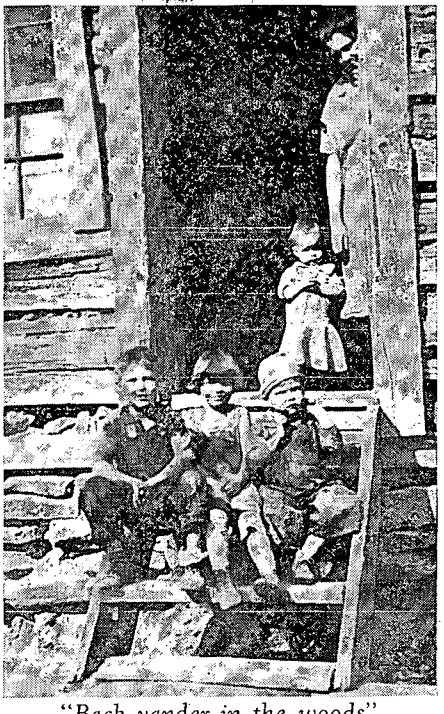
This is a relief job that cannot be measured by any rule of thumb. There are as many kinds of people in the territory affected as there are alluvial bottoms, narrow valleys, uplands, hills and mountains. In ten or twenty miles the whole character of the land may change and with it the farm economics and living habits of the people. There are "share croppers," tenant and independent farmers all totally different in farm operations and in psychology. What is a true picture of conditions in one county is not true in the next one. What is sound relief procedure in the valley is unsuitable and ineffective in the hills. Of course many families in the drought areas do not require relief. They may, probably have, lost heavily but their own local resources and credit will carry them through. But in the next house and the next perhaps are families down to their last cupful of meal. Not even a scrawny chicken is left. The stores are well stocked, but their owners are in a bad way. They have carried rural customers month after month, year after year. They are themselves hard pressed by creditors. They can go no further.

There can be no mass operations in this relief job. It is house to house, family by family case work, with the danger not of overdoing but of failing to discover people in remote districts too weakened by misery and hopelessness to seek aid for themselves.

The present situation did not burst on the Red Cross. It saw trouble a long way off. Last August when President Hoover appointed a Federal Drought Committee to coordinate efforts to deal with its problems, the Red Cross sensed what was ahead. Committees might improve conditions by developing new opportunities for employment, by creating additional credit facilities, by securing reduced freight rates, but inevitably there would be a residue of human need which the Red Cross would be called on to meet. But even the Red Cross did not realize then how great that residue would be.

Disasters, great and small, are no novelty to the Red Cross. It has gone through a thousand of them—floods, fires, earthquakes, tornadoes. Its central organization is geared to lead and its chapter organization to carry through almost any emergency demand that may be made upon it. Its quota tables for fund-raising are in readiness, subject to adjustment to specific disaster needs and to existing conditions. Routines for the conduct of disaster operations are worked out and tested. A reserve staff is ready for instant mobilization.

Long before the country at large realized what was happening, long before drought relief was front-page news, the Red Cross mobilization began. Field representatives were on the ground, chapters in the affected districts surveyed the prospect and prepared for action, the national office took stock of the situation and of its resources. The Red Cross had a $5,000,000 reserve fund in its treasury to draw on, but in conformity to its usual practice the relief program was financed as long as possible from local donations of cash and supplies. As local resources became exhausted the national organization made cash grants to the chapters to meet their needs. Until the first of January 47.5 per cent of drought relief expenditures came from local chapter funds. Then these treasuries ran low, and during the month of January only 11.8 per cent of the money expended came from this source. The rest was supplied by the national office. Local



"Back yander in the woods"

Seven youngsters, no food. A typical Kentucky mountain family which has never before been "on charity"

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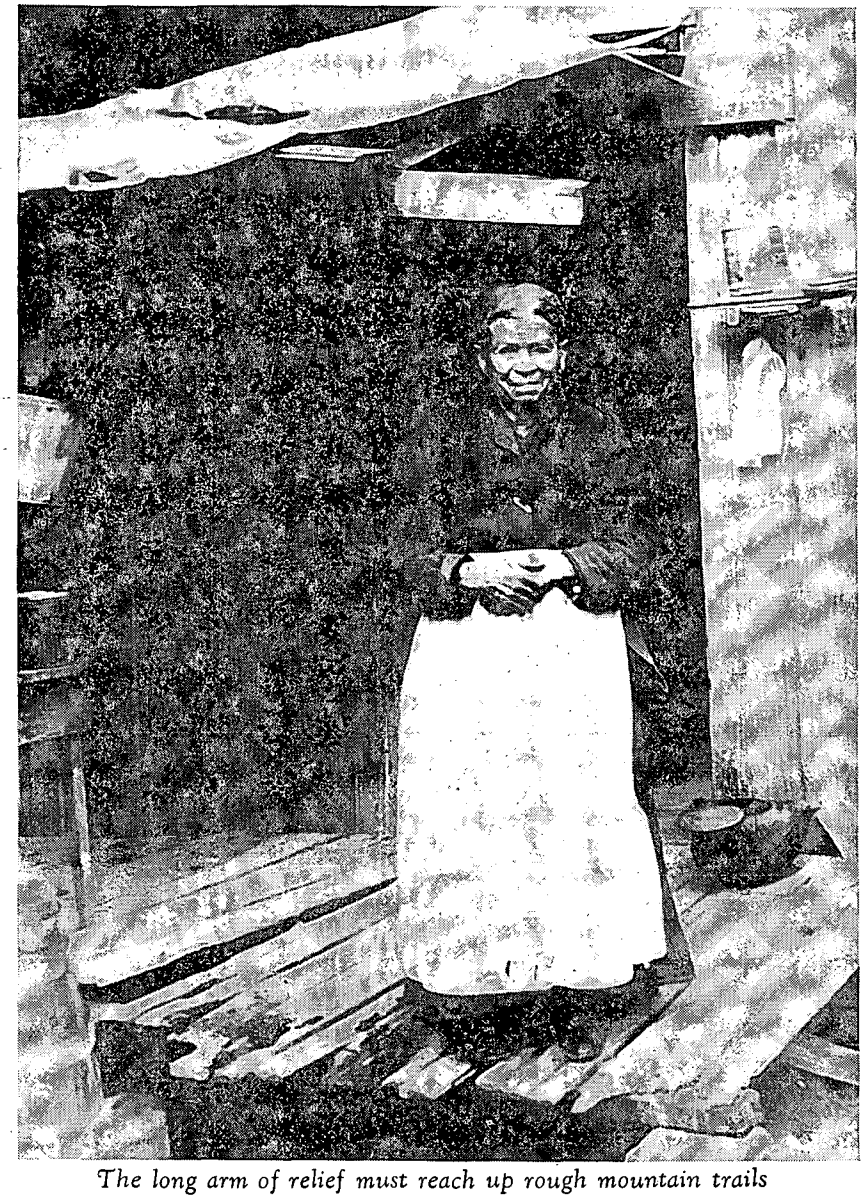
funds are now so depleted that they are practically at the vanishing point.

During the first ten days of January the needs of hundreds of communities greatly increased and the needs of large rural sections revealed themselves in urgent form. The task of relief loomed larger than anyone had anticipated. It called for every reserve of strength and skill that could be mustered.

The ideal Red Cross program for handling a relief operation presupposes an alert county-wide chapter with an executive secretary trained in case work. It is predicated upon existing cooperation with other agencies and with an extended civilian home-service activity. Unfortunately not all the chapters in the drought area have this set-up. The situation too often is hampered by an inactive local committee, by insufficient funds, the lack of health organizations and by the absence of a trained case worker and of a county or home demonstration agent. When this condition exists it is up to the special Red Cross field representative on drought assignment to rally local forces into activity. He must first acquaint himself with all state resources for handling special problems, he must inventory the institutions of every kind, inform himself on programs of child welfare and familiarize himself with the workings of the state health department. He must have knowledge of every public resource at his finger tips. Next he must set about the organization of three committees in each of the counties of his district, committees which will form the basis for the whole program of chapter activity.



The long arm of relief must reach up rough mountain trails

The Committee on Investigation receives and investigates applications for relief, and in this particular disaster, reports of distress. Headed preferably by the executive secretary of the chapter, it is made up of school trustees, teachers, and others who know the community and the past history and present condition of its families. One county organization that is functioning successfully has twenty-four persons on this committee, one from each of the twenty-four school districts. The Production Committee is charged with collecting, receiving, and distributing supplies, with remodeling old garments and with making new ones. It too divides the county into districts but fewer in number than for investigational purposes. The Case Advisory Committee is composed of five or six members of the chapter's executive committee. It decides on relief measures and passes on cases on the basis of information obtained from the Committee on Investigation.

But even with these committees organized and going there is still need for a large trained supervisory staff and for a small army of volunteers to carry out the detailed case-work program. Edith McAllister, national case supervisor of the permanent disaster staff, and Katherine Monroe, case supervisor for the Mid-west branch office in St. Louis, have been at work for months directing field organizers and family workers in the task of instructing the lay people recruited by the various chapters. The Red Cross is fortunate in having in its reserve disaster relief organization, some 250 trained and capable men and women who while not on its payroll are subject to call and at a time like this are summoned for field service. Additional workers, as they are needed, are drafted from chapters and from other social agencies.

Because this disaster is different from any that has preceded it everyone in the field service, veteran and newcomer alike, is required to take a special four-days institute training course before assuming his duties. The first of these institutes was held last September. They continued at intervals until February. The routine is that of a regular school which opens at nine in the morning and lasts until four in the afternoon with a hasty lunch-hour at midday. Lectures and discussions are designed to provide a background knowledge of Red Cross policies and methods as applied to the drought relief program. Topics for the first day of an institute include: The Winter's Outlook, Review of Drought Relief and (*Continued on page* 627)

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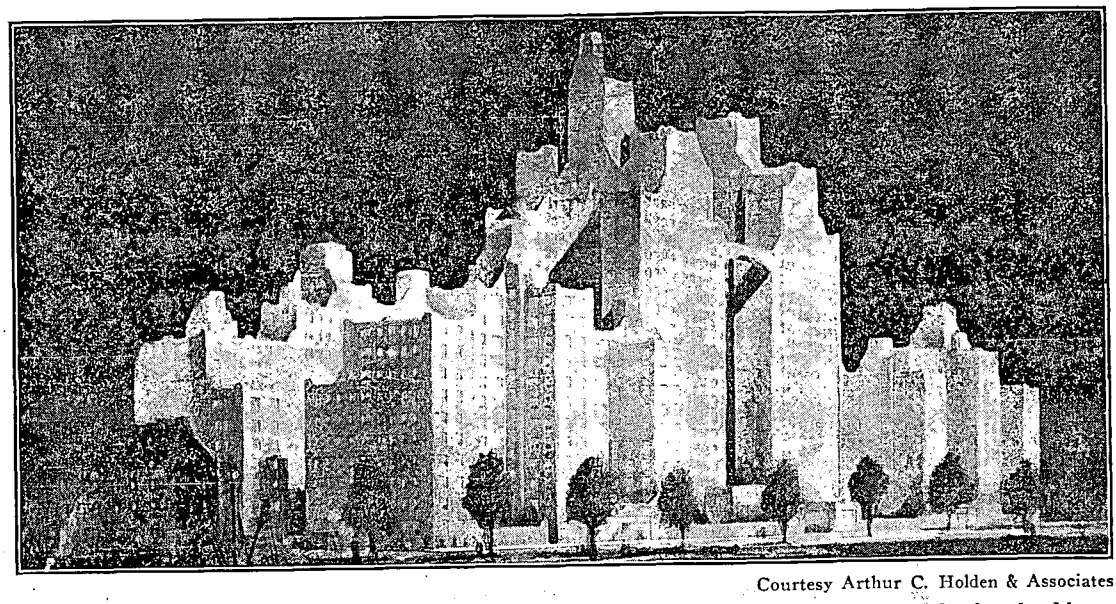

Courtesy Arthur C. Holden & Associates

The East River waterfront of tomorrow—if "Neighborhood Units" replace today's obsolete buildings

Putting a White Collar on the East Side

By LOULA D. LASKER

GROPING our way through a dark hall in an East Side tenement of New York we finally found the door leading to the backyard. "Yes, this is the right place," said my social worker guide. "No one is living here now, heaven be praised," she added in astonishment and relief. "Yet some 10,000 people occupy similar rear tenements in the district. Last year several flats in this very house were rented, though four murders have taken place here in the last few years."

Small wonder that this was a breeding place for crime and disease, thought I as we peered through filthy windows into the deserted rooms. Darkness everywhere, obviously no proper sanitary arrangements, rooms without windows. And such windows as there were could lure but little light from the tiny court that separated this rear tenement from the "front house," itself an obsolete "old-law" tenement, one of almost 100,000 still remaining in the city. A type declared unfit for human habitation a half century ago.

"So this is New York," I exclaimed. "No," my companion replied, "This is the Lower East Side." Obviously only those who could not afford better quarters were willing to live under these degrading conditions; yet 300,000 do so live on the Lower East Side alone.

We walked a few blocks farther. And it was as if a fairy wand had been waved, for there in front of our eyes stood a modern six-story elevator apartment building right in the midst of one of the worst tenement districts. We entered a large central court which formed a charming garden. A fountain in the center and shrubs everywhere—a beautiful court which insured light to the building which surrounded it. This structure occupied but 60 per cent of its lot area against the nearly 90 per cent coverage of its dilapidated neighbors. Some two hundred apartments, sunshine and cheerfulness throughout, large rooms, with every modern device to make housekeeping a joy. Such is the new cooperative building erected by the Amalgamated Housing Corporation at a cost of $1,500,000 with the cooperation of Lieutenant-Governor Lehman and Aaron Rabinowitz of the State Housing Board. Obviously the people who lived here were willing and able to pay for better accommodations.

"Is not this the East Side of New York, too?" I asked my guide.

"This," she answered prophetically as we glanced at the building which would be a credit to any part of the city. "This represents the East Side of Tomorrow."

WHAT did she mean? Is this district, once the home of fashionable New York but the most congested district of our time, to be rebuilt? Has the key been found to solve the problem of this blighted area? Are the city's hugest rookeries to give way before a white-collared invasion?

The answer is that conditions have reached a point where both decency and sound business demand heroic measures. The early recreation of the Lower East Side as a residential district is imperative if that blighted corner of Manhattan is not to become a still greater liability. But unlike the remedies suggested in the past, after a century of experience, today's cure suggested by architects and city planners is based on a scientific and comprehensive plan for the entire district—a replanning which must rest on a solid economic foundation. In other words, because of its strategic location with resulting high land values, economic necessity may be expected to come finally to the rescue of a district where a

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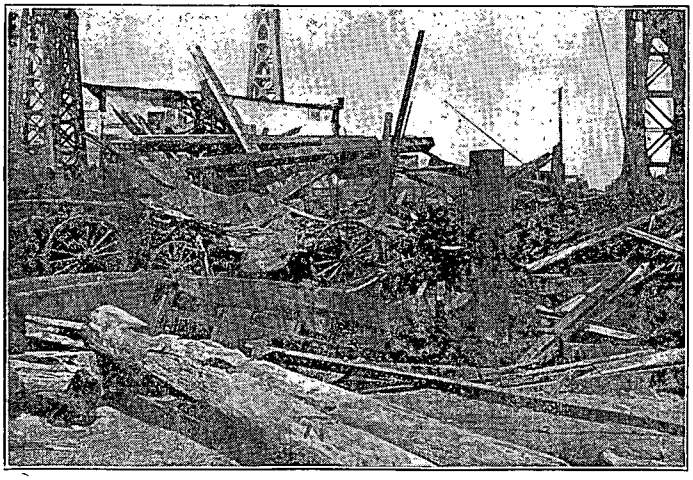
social conscience has fallen short. As long as these tenements stand, social forces are to no small extent wearing themselves out in a hopeless battle to establish decent homes. New evils will, in fact, breed faster than the old ones can be cured.

No less authorities than the secretary of the Regional Plan Association of New York, the vice-president of one of the city's important banks in charge of its East Side branch, the founder and head of one of the district's largest settlements, an architect and a city planner who have just completed a survey of the East Side, are my authority for these views. All agree that the East Side must look for its regeneration to an influx of a population much higher in the economic scale. It must no longer lose its people who prosper. It must put on a white collar. That this is not the place to attempt to build new houses en masse at the rental levels of the obsolete tenements, needs little argument, with land values making it practically impossible to erect new buildings within the means of the "under $2000 income group."

That the district must, however, look to a *residential* population if it is to "come back" follows from the fact that heavy industry is no longer an important tenant of the Lower East Side and is not likely to return. The facts are clear enough from the data presented in the industrial survey of the district published in 1928 by the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs. On the Lower East Side, as in Manhattan generally, the peak of manufacturing was reached in 1917. Since then, heavy industry, because of high land values in Manhattan, has sought other locations. Warehouses, located particularly on the East Side waterfront, are deserted for Brooklyn and New Jersey. The garment and needle trades, formerly the district's most important industry, are moving uptown or to outlying sections.



A PRICELESS ASSET WASTED

Piles of refuse and abandoned docks lining the waterfront

Courtesy East Side Chamber of Commerce

THE LOWER EAST SIDE

One and three quarters square miles, nine hundred acres waiting to be reclaimed

The largest business left is retail shopping—and its survival depends on a large local population.

THE greatest hope of the East Side today is the hopelessness of the situation. As one authority puts it, "The patient has become so ill that he is at last willing to submit to an operation." The symptoms are plain. Thousands of residents have left the district. Thousands will follow them. Once they achieve financial responsibility, East Siders are no longer willing to put up with intolerable conditions. And because of restrictive immigration laws, there will not be a mass of newly arrived immigrants to replace them. During the first fourteen years of the century the East Side was truly a second Ellis Island. But in the last decade the population of the district has declined over 40 per cent. In 1920 it was 588,304. In 1930, 355,884. In 1940, what? Contrast this decline with the growth in outlying sections, Washington Heights for instance, where during the same period the population increased 75 per cent. Small wonder that as soon as they are able, people refuse to live in blocks where dilapidated tenements house five hundred persons to an acre—in one block there are six hundred and fifty, whereas the average density in the city of New York is thirty-six. But hope lies in this very exodus, for neither city nor property owners can afford to let the section become truly a "deserted village." Decreasing taxes and declining real estate earnings necessitate a change.

Over 50 per cent of the tenements on the East Side are more than twenty-five years old, over 20 per cent more than forty. As ex-Governor Smith recently said:

> While New York City is modernizing itself in every direction with subways, new bridges, new highways, new skyscrapers with every modern equipment, just around the corner old-law tenements with their dark rooms and unwholesome dangerous construction are still standing.

Built in the decade following the Civil War to meet the

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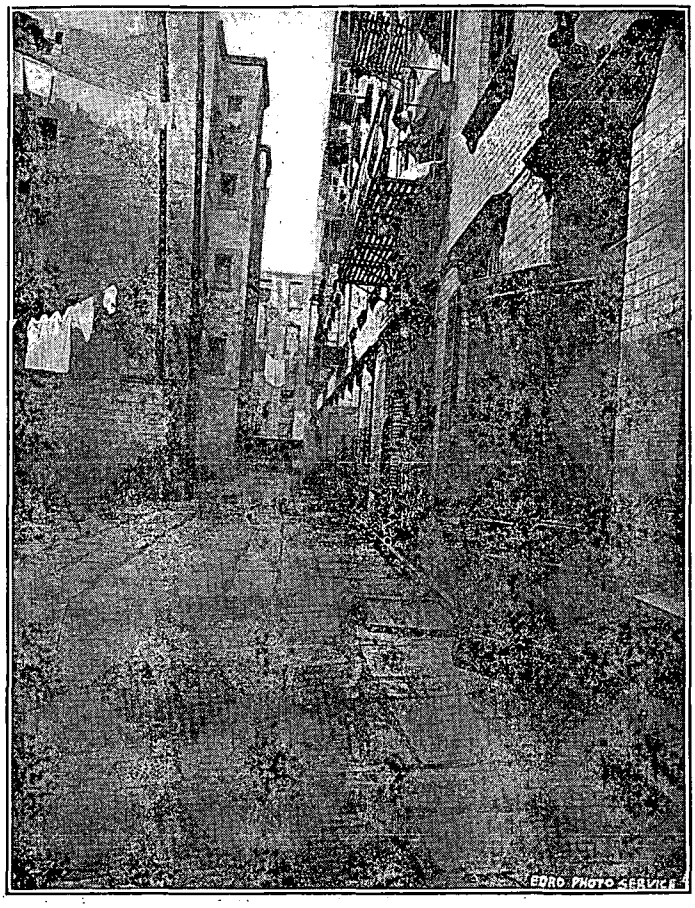
rising tide of immigration from abroad, these old-law tenements defy progress in public health and sanitation. Their increasing deterioration is described by the State Board of Housing:

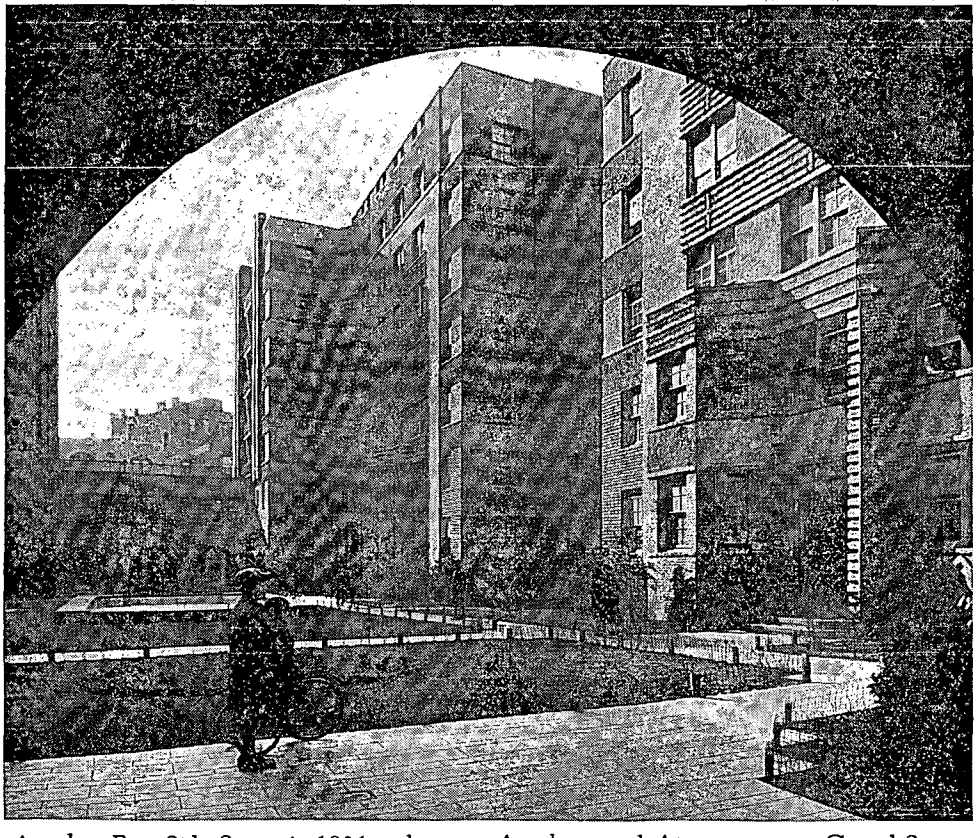
> The rent laws [1920] marked the end of the landlords' interest in the physical condition of the properties, and from that time on deterioration of most of these tenements has been unchecked. Today conditions in some neighborhoods beggar description.

Many tenements are becoming liabilities to their owners. The vacancy average is encouraging—or shocking—according to your viewpoint. An investigation by the Tenement House Department a year ago of 86,619 apartments on the Lower East Side showed 17,401 vacancies—an average in excess of 20 per cent. In the entire district approximately 25 per cent of the tenements are largely vacant. Over two hundred are actually boarded up. The time is approaching when owners must either improve their property or turn it over to those who will. Vacant apartments produce no income.



Four rear tenements in a row behind one front house. Owned by one of the most powerful estates on the East Side

IN spite of the deterioration and vacancies, assessed valuations on the East Side have risen in the past ten years—the years of the exodus. Today land values are $175,711,040 compared to $159,282,400 in 1920—an increase of 10 per cent. And to be strictly fair another $11,000,000 should be added, the value of property recently purchased by the city for street widening. The rise in land and buildings combined has been even greater—$261,194,900 in 1920 and $320,360,000 in 1930, an increase of 20 per cent. What does this signify? Simply that in the early part of the decade the housing shortage kept prices up artificially. There followed a period of speculative buying with similar effect. And today owners accept the same valuation in the hope that time will justify them. Foreclosures are comparatively rare because in most cases very little can be realized from forced sales. Sale prices of property in this district bear little relation to assessed valuations.



Another East Side Scene in 1931—the new Amalgamated Apartments on Grand Street. Beauty and light versus darkness and dilapidation

Although for the moment these high assessments may have their bright side, they cannot continue indefinitely. The reduction in valuations of approximately $3,000,000 granted by the Department of Taxes and Assessments in 1930 is an indication that the bubble is bursting. Though less than 1 per cent of the total assessed valuation, it is significant that this is the largest reduction on record in any single year. Unless steps are taken to hold up these values on a sound basis, the tax loss to the city will be great. Leave the East Side in statu quo and the third of a billion dollars taxable property in the district will beyond doubt shrink as deterioration proceeds. The converse is also true. An improved East Side will check the exodus, will draw new people, and tax values will rise. There are those who predict that within the next gener-

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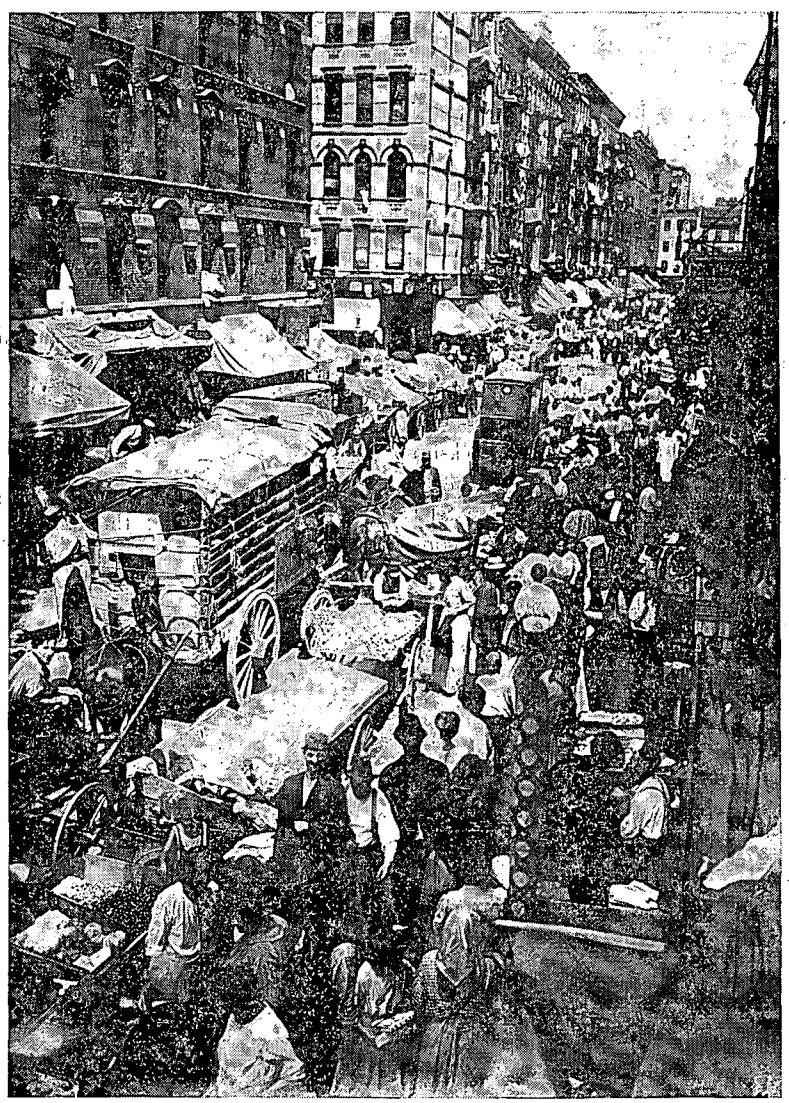
ation property values on a regenerated East Side will rise to a half billion dollars.

Absentee landlordism is another grave symptom of our patient. A recent study shows six hundred parcels of land (about 10 per cent of the district) owned by estates, a considerable number of the owners being descendants of the early settlers of New York, who themselves lived on this land. More than one hundred parcels, owned by four estates, have passed on from generation to generation for almost two centuries. Indeed the real-estate ownership of the East Side reads like a page from the Social Register, including such names as Astor, Goelet, Cheseborough, Fish, and Winthrop. Failure of some trustees to liquidate has resulted in unfortunate conditions. Some estates own the fee to the ground but lease the land to others who erect buildings, and naturally the latter hesitate to improve properties near the end of the lease. One estate owns 97 tenements, another 52, three own 24 each, the others from 3 to 18 each. It may be difficult to arouse a social interest from absentee owners who regard their property merely as a source of income, yet it may very well be possible to convince them that their present low incomes are due in part to their own inaction. On the other hand, the fact that these large tracts are held under single ownership should be helpful in the general work of replanning. For albeit that present income from these properties may not be sufficient to encourage improvement in this depreciated neighborhood there is still reason to believe that many estates are ready and willing to cooperate *if* a definite plan of improvement for the entire district is adopted.



"The Sidewalks of New York." The removal of outdoor markets is as pressing a problem today as it was thirty years ago

So much for the symptoms that lead to the conclusion that it is good business for all interested to make every effort toward a cure. What are the innate qualities of the patient himself which offer encouragement?

First and foremost is its strategic location, its proximity to Wall Street—a district where thousands of people come daily to work in financial houses, municipal departments, and shops that cater to the needs of that large working population. Are not these the logical future residents of the East Side—these thousands of middle-class folk who daily take a journey of ten to twenty-five miles in crowded subways? The Lower East Side offers this group potential residences in walking distance of their work, to say nothing of others who work in the mid-town district, but a short subway ride away. Here then is an opportunity to replace non-paying and vacant buildings now standing on extremely valuable property with income-producing apartments for those who wear white collars.

Will such people come to such a neighborhood? What about Sutton Place, that stylish development also situated on the East River, several miles north? Ten years ago a tenement district, still neighbor to tenements, "Sutton Place" is now an address coveted on fashionable stationery. And rightly so, for beautiful apartment houses overlooking the river replaced dilapidated tenements. A large profit reaped by the promoters. Vision, leadership, and capital have converted this erstwhile slum area. Why can not vision, leadership, and capital do as much for the lower East Side, where there is ample room for profits from even less expensive apartments than those in Sutton Place? Moreover, many of the "Bohemians" of Greenwich Village who have been dispossessed from their inexpensive quarters by new developments, are moving to remodelled rear houses on the East Side where two-room studio apartments have been fitted up with log-burning fireplaces. Perhaps these musicians, writers, painters, and sculptors will help in the revival of the East Side by starting a procession toward it.

Further evidence that people from other sections of the city are ready to move to the East Side if desirable homes can be found lies in the fact that over one third of the tenants in the new Amalgamated apartments came from Brooklyn, Bronx, and Jersey. It is significant, too, to note the occupation of the 186 tenants: Storekeepers 59, shop workers 38, office workers 32, city employes 21, peddlers 15, salesmen 10, truckmen 5, artists 3, doctors 3. Is this not a cross-section of a white-collar group?

In another new modern apartment house, on Stanton Street a large number of tenants are newcomers to the East

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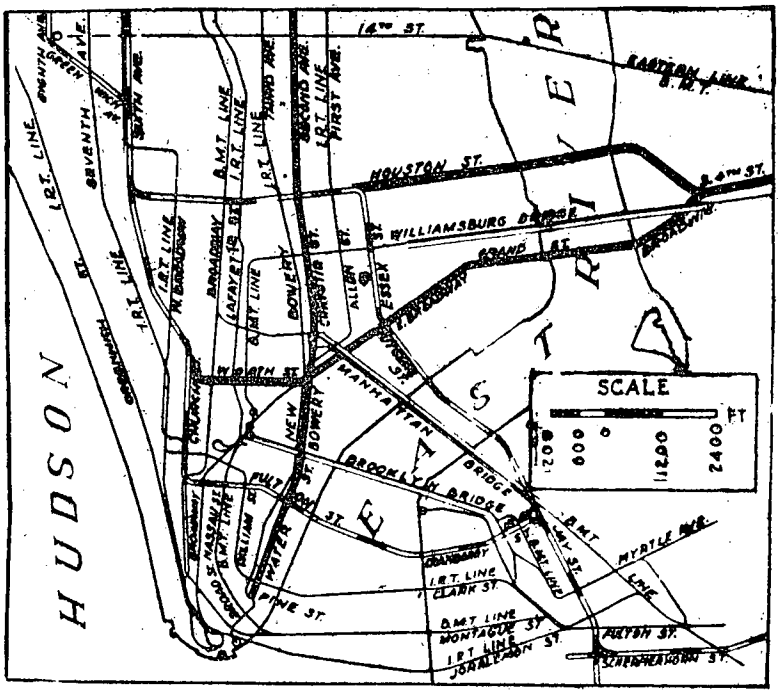


A bright future for the section in the city's huge transit program. The splendid network of subways to be completed within a few years

Side. This is true also of many of the twenty-one tenements remodeled during the past year. In one five-story walk-up tenement on Catherine Street, where rents were formerly from $4 to $6 a room, tenants are paying today from $12 to $15 a room in remodeled apartments with modern conveniences. These too are newcomers to the East Side—most of them working in the Municipal Building within ten minutes walking distance.

But the really priceless asset of the East Side is its waterfront. Yet the waterfront is non-existant for residence or park purposes, for years ago it was given over to industry. Here again are dilapidation and waste, abandoned and obsolete buildings, docks and warehouses, piles of refuse. But from all accounts, this condition also, serious as it is, can be cured. The continuing commercial use of the waterfront depends on the future growth of warehousing in Manhattan, and warehousing, as already mentioned, is deserting Manhattan. Today an eyesore, tomorrow the riverfront may become the most potent factor in the revival of the East Side.

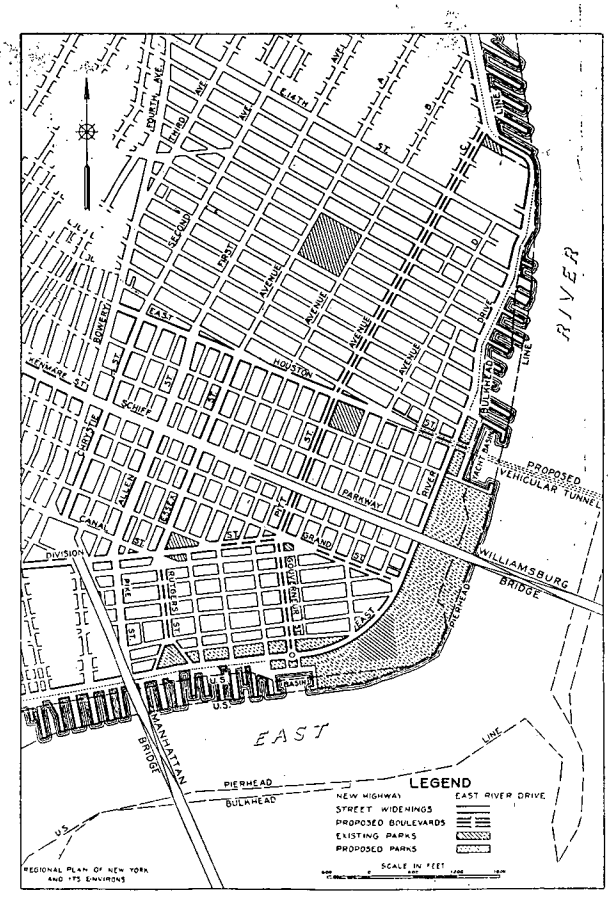
And here, in this waterfront which is largely public property, we come to the crux of the situation. The plight of the Lower East Side is in large measure due to the neglect of the city. The East Side has been treated as the city's stepchild. Public improvements taken for granted in other sections have been withheld here—improvements without which capital cannot be tempted to enter. The Regional Plan of New York states the case briefly:

A crisis has been reached. . . . The Lower East Side is New York's problem. The city must act boldly and with vision to bring the district back to its former prominence and value to the greater city. The Lower East Side has a strategic location because of its proximity to the business and industrial areas of the city, and it has the natural advantages of a marvelous waterfront along the East River. Its central location will be rendered all the more accessible by a system of north-and-south and east-and-west subways under construction or planned by the city. The district may be converted into one of desirable and comfortable houses, including both high-class residences and those with moderate rentals, accommodating the varying requirements of those seeking quarters convenient to the business and industrial areas of southern Manhattan. *Such reconstruction may be expected through the private enterprise which is sure to be attracted if the city will undertake to develop the waterfront and open up the interior with parks and boulevards.* (Italics ours.)

In other words the district cannot pull itself up by its own bootstraps. Property owners must be assured that the city will provide adequate thoroughfares, parks, and playgrounds.

Specifically, what are the needed improvements? The ground has already been surveyed. The Regional Plan of New York and its Environs has recommended a very definite and feasible program. The East Side Chamber of Commerce through its consulting architects, John Taylor Boyd, Jr., Arthur S. Holden and Associates, endorses these recommendations:

The creation of an extensive waterfront park to be formed as an enlargement of the existing Corlears Park. An East River Drive on or adjacent to the East River waterfront on the east and south. A series of connecting boulevards and side streets which will make the waterfront accessible to the inland area and exert a favorable influence upon property values.



Courtesy Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs

"A waterfront park, an East River Drive and a series of connecting boulevards and side streets"

All these improvements are to be based on a scientifically coordinated plan with land put to its highest possible economic and social use.

Probably no single undertaking is more vital than the construction of the East River Drive and the enlargement of Corlears Hook Park. "The return of its waterfront to the Lower East Side" might well become the slogan of the campaign. For that private enterprise will not rebuild a district where there is little open space and no waterfrontage suitable for a residential

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district is as certain as the reverse of the picture is probable.

That the riverfront will not continue for long in its present abandoned state is probably assured, for during the administration of the last borough president of Manhattan plans were drawn for a highway along the shore line. This is not the place for comment on the details of that plan, but the contention of its critics that the proposed express motor highway would simply cut off the "hinterland" of the district from the waterfront should be given serious consideration. In this connection the statement of an outstanding real-estate expert that a room in an apartment house overlooking the river is worth 50 per cent more than a room overlooking the street, and that even an oblique view of the river through a window has a marked effect on increasing rents, is significant. Chicago has reclaimed its waterfront against more complex difficulties. Is New York less resourceful?

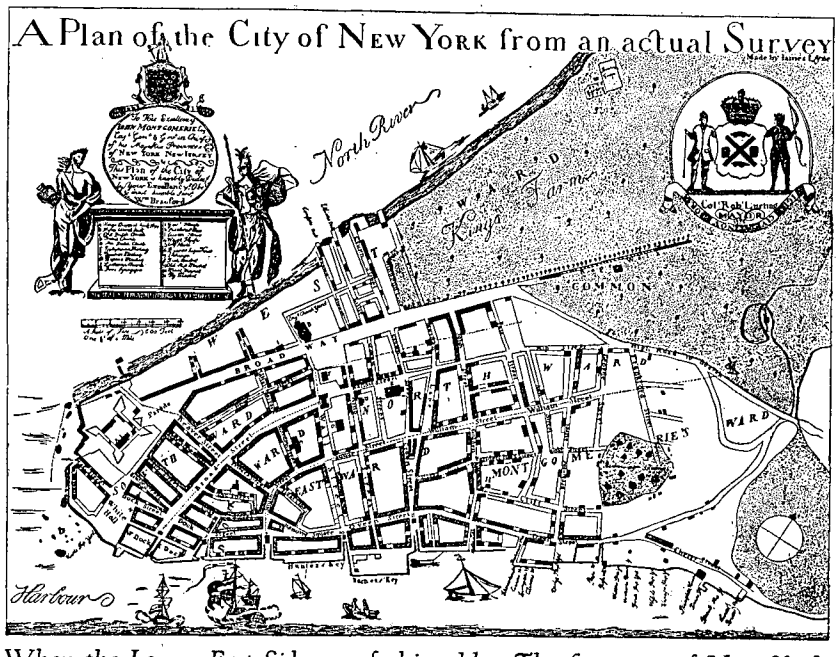
Before builders will be tempted to this "new" area, however, there is another protection they will demand—a sound zoning system. The zoning regulations of the district are in many respects as antiquated as its tenements. Half is zoned for business use. Practically all the rest is unrestricted, a negligible area being reserved for residential purposes. Today a builder might erect a splendid apartment house only to find it flanked by a factory or a garage.

One sign of improvement in our patient should be emphasized, however. Construction plans are under way whereby within five or six years the Lower East Side will have one of the best subway systems in the world. Although that other modern method of transportation, the bus, has not yet come into its own in the district, the most difficult transportation is on the way to being solved. No longer will the East Side be cut off from the other boroughs as by a Chinese wall through an almost total absence of efficient transportation connections.

Likewise—another sign of improvement—a beginning has been made "to open up the interior of the district with boulevards." The much talked of Christie-Forsythe Street widening is almost completed. The Allen Street widening is a step forward, too—though it should be extended farther. Schiff Parkway has been created by a widening of Delancey Street. But additional widenings are necessary to provide the district in this automobile age with thoroughfares adequate to care for local and through traffic. More of that anon.

But the park and playground situation is black. It calls for a speedy remedy. While in Manhattan generally an acre of park space is provided for every one thousand inhabitants, the entire Lower East Side—the city's most congested area—has a total of 28.9 acres—one acre for every 13,800 inhabitants. In reality but one acre of grass and quiet rest place for approximately 25,000, since half of the 28.9 acres is play space. The Lower East Side has but one twenty-third of the accepted minimum of necessary park space—an acre to six hundred people. The playground situation is not materially better. A portion of the district's two largest parks—each about 10½ acres in size—plus small school playgrounds provide less than half of the requisite space. A study made by the City Club in 1927 revealed that of the two hundred children killed in the entire city by street accidents, 29 per cent were on the streets of the Lower East Side. Perhaps no further comments are necessary.

City planners have long realized that open spaces need not be subtracted from the sum total of land otherwise available for building. Open spaces encourage more and better buildings around them. Let those who declare that land on Manhattan has become too expensive to be purchased for park and playground purposes take note of the action of a commercial real-estate company which has reserved two entire blocks for park purposes in the widely known and successful Tudor City development. Formerly a slum area, this project is now reaping the benefits of its proximity to the heart of the Grand Central district.



When the Lower East Side was fashionable. The first map of New York from the survey of James Lyne in 1731

In short as Thomas Adams, well known regional planner, has said: "It is not too much to claim that if the city were to provide an adequate waterfront park and a number of small playgrounds on the Lower East Side, private enterprise would gradually accomplish the needed improvement in building."

From all these facts, does it not appear then that the East Side—properly planned—may again become a healthy, self-respecting, self-supporting, even profitable member of the family of New York boroughs? But only if a policy of complete reconstruction is substituted for any idea of mere rehabilitation by alteration and repair. As the Boyd-Holden report says:

> The rehabilitation program has been thoroughly investigated, and has to a certain extent been tried out in practice, but as a general policy (1) it promises no relief as a comprehensive policy, (2) it has worked out only in isolated cases which may be regarded as exceptionally favored and (3) it promises no social and investment returns comparable to reconstruction with high-standard modern buildings in keeping with the potential values of the land in such a centrally located district as the Lower East Side.
>
> The results of a competition held in 1920 by the New York State Reconstruction Commission, the predecessor of the State Board of Housing, indicated that adequate rehabilitation is more costly than the demolition of obsolete structures and their replacement by new buildings.

(*Continued on page* 626)

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Slavery in the Modern Manner

By ALAIN LOCKE

BY an irony too tragic to dwell on, a small black republic, itself founded in 1847 under anti-slavery auspices as an asylum from American slavery, has just been pilloried in the stocks of world opinion as an internationally indicted slave-holder and oppressor of labor. For such is the practical effect of the report of the International Commission on Forced Labor in Liberia, which has found evidences of extensive practices of domestic slavery, debt slavery, "pawning" and forced labor conscription in that country. The second and third generation of refugee slaves, so forgetful that as an overlord minority it exploits and oppresses a large native population under its care, is indeed a sorry spectacle. There is but one mitigating fact, and that is Liberia's own share in the exposure and indictment.

The Commission was appointed to investigate charges brought to the attention of the League of Nations and the United States by public-spirited and courageous Liberian citizens under the leadership of Thomas J. Faulkner, and the Liberian representative on the commission has placed his signature beside those of his colleagues, Dr. Cuthbert Christy representing the League, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University representing the United States, to make a unanimous report. Fortunately within a few weeks of the filing of the report, a corrupt government regime has fallen and a new one pledged to the reform policy recommended by the Commission has taken charge of Africa's only republic.

It is hard to credit as contemporary the conditions that are reported from Liberia; our imagination automatically dates them back to the days when the full-rigged "slaver" zigzagged a fetid trail across the "middle passage." Only a few months ago, however, Spanish tramp freighters were slipping out of the Liberian harbors, crowded with labor gangs, conscripted at fifty dollars a head, and the proceeds split between government officials, labor agents, raiding labor collectors of the government constabulary, and venal or intimidated native chieftains who had delivered up a batch of their able-bodied men to the cocoa planters of Fernando Po. At the top was the unscrupulous Liberian politician, blinded by Christian bigotry and a sense of superiority because the "native" was trouserless and heathen. The middle-man was most often the professional labor agent, modern analogue of the slave-dealer; but sometimes, the very policeman of the frontier force whose business was the protection of the native, but who had been conscripting forced labor too often before for government porterage, road building, and public works, according to the Liberian law and practice. But at the bottom was the saddest and least responsible figure of all, the native chief stripped of his hereditary power and respect, commanded to furnish so and so many men or pay a fine of $50.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

The American member of the International Commission on Forced Labor in Liberia is professor of social science at Fisk University

THE Commission report puts its finger on the very quick of the situation, and exposes the root cause:

> Intimidation has apparently been and is the keyword of the government's policy. Not only have the native villages been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty, and suppression, but the chiefs themselves, men whom the people looked up to not so many years ago, have been so systematically humiliated, degraded, and robbed of their power that they are now mere go-betweens, paid by the government to coerce and rob the people.

Another insidious evil is the prevalent system of "pawning." There is no doubt that this is a deliberate substitute and camouflage for slavery. It is a system by which in return for money, a human being, usually a child relative, may be given for an indefinite period for indentured service without compensation other than maintenance. No person pawned can redeem himself—a third party has to do it. Since 1920 the average redemption price in Liberia has been $15 for men and $30 for women. Natives, and even chiefs in debt for goods or fines, discharge these obligations by pawning their children or wives or retainers. And so a system even less responsible than chattel slavery has grown up and flourished, with the open sanction of law. It is only the organized moral conscience of the world that can stamp out this new evil as previously it stamped out the more or less obsolete slavery that aroused the righteous indignation of our fathers and grandfathers.

But the Liberian report is only the climax to a series of unofficial exposures of slavery and forced labor in this and other parts of the world, and two arduous campaigns, one for the drafting and adoption of the World Convention

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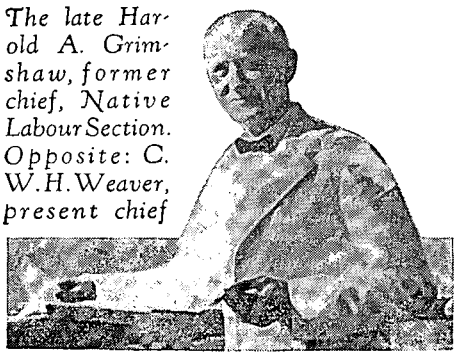
Typical group of Liberian laborers

of 1925 against Slavery, the other, the International Convention on Forced Labor, just completed by the International Labor Conference of 1930. Thus the significance of the Liberian report far transcends Liberia. It may, indeed, be the initial international volley in a crusade that will have for its objective not merely the cleaning up of economic plague-spots of the colonial world, but the recognition by formal international guarantees of the basic right of the freedom of labor. The question of forced labor, in fact, definitely links up the question of economic freedom with the principles and sanctions of personal freedom, and so raises the standard of a new crusade for the emancipation of labor on a world scale. The sentiment against the abridgment of human liberty has halted too long at the artificial line of legal slavery, and stood helpless before all those clandestine forms that are slavery just as well, for all that. We must realize that instead of a situation of occasional reversion or negligible survival, we have a modern situation which has actually created new forms of slavery, with different manifestations and causes and requiring a different technique of abolition and cure. Our soul-less, long-armed ducats and dollars, inherently without personal and moral responsibility, have actually multiplied the ways and means of economic exploitation and increased the possibilities for the abridgment of human liberty. It becomes more and more apparent that in the modern world freedom of body without freedom of labor is no guarantee whatsoever against conditions and practices of virtual slavery.

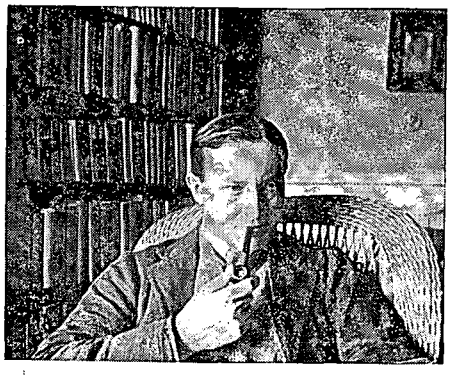
Domestic slavery may be rare and chattel bondage almost extinct, but there still remain appalling amounts of debt slavery, peonage, conscripted, and directly or indirectly coerced labor. And it is to these insidious and modernly rampant forms of slavery that the social intelligence of the modern world must give heed. The present situation in Liberia can thus be taken in itself or as an example of the worst possibilities of economic imperialism and exploitation the world over. Let us be careful that Liberia, looked at in the narrow and short-sighted way, does not become an easy scapegoat for these sins throughout the world. Let us look beyond the few thousand "domestic slaves" and "pawns" uncovered in Liberia to the four to six million conservatively estimated to be in the same or similar conditions in sixteen or seventeen other sections—China, the Hedjaz, Abyssinia, French, British, and Italian Somaliland, Morocco, Portuguese East and West Africa, Spanish West Africa, to mention the most important few. And let us see in the conscripted Kru boys of the government works in Liberia, and the few thousand natives shamefully exported through the collusion of corrupt Liberian government officials to the Spanish cocoa planters of Fernando Po at forty-five dollars a head, plus bonuses on each batch of 1500, only the symbols of a vast army of forcefully recruited human labor in the service of ruthless economic imperialism, or its holding partner, foreign invested capital in the tropics and the sub-tropics the world around.



The late Harold A. Grimshaw, former chief, Native Labour Section. Opposite: C. W. H. Weaver, present chief

One can then see the wisdom and practicality of attacking this situation internationally, and with a common yardstick of injustice and charter of minimal rights, such as is proposed and ready for world adoption in the International Convention against Forced Labor. This instrument links all the indirect and prevalent modern forms of slavery to the old outlawed slavery of chattel bondage, and proposes international agreement and action about it. The Liberian inquiry is really one of the first fruits of this modern international humanitarian campaign, creditably anticipating its working principles and main machinery, even before its formal ratification.

WHEN the report came up recently for discussion before the Council of the League, the Liberian representative at Geneva very rightfully and pointedly asked if other nations would follow suit in this campaign of house-cleaning by making similar investigations through internationally appointed commissions into conditions within their jurisdictions. Some of the most flagrant and well-documented of the Liberian cases involved the export of native labor to colonial enterprises and concessionaires of the French and Spanish West African colonies. Furthermore, the investigations of the International Labor Office preliminary to both the Slavery and the Forced Labor Conventions, have shown gravely suspicious and widespread practices and legislation restricting the freedom of labor on the part of many colonial administrations in Africa and the Seven Seas. The only consistent attitude, therefore, will be the early adoption and enforcement of a pact by which forced labor, peonage, and similar abuses are uniformly outlawed, whether in an international man-



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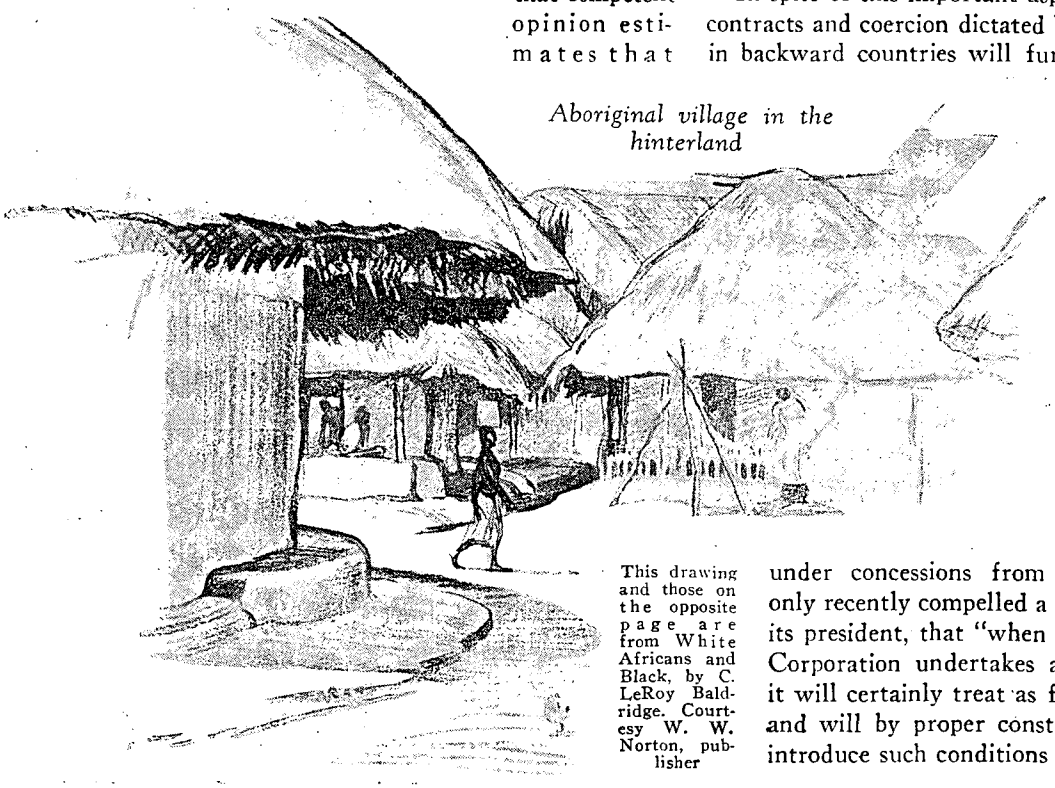
date, an imperial colony or protectorate, or a home province; whether in a small, semi-bankrupt Negro republic or a flourishing European empire—so that in our own Mississippi and Georgia as well as in Fernando Po, the Cameroons, the Transvaal, Rhodesia, and the French and Belgian Congos, and Liberia, human liberty can be measurably guaranteed. With considerable warrant, an American Negro newspaper, currently reporting the sharp American representations to Liberia and the comments of Lord Cecil before the League on slavery and peonage, says: "European and American pots have small right to call Liberian and Abyssinian kettles black." All of which but emphasizes the need and the promise of internationally standardized common action and cooperation in this important reform.

The crux of the situation, therefore, seems to rest on the speedy and world-wide ratification of the proposed Geneva pact regulating and eventually outlawing forced labor. Ratification by America, it is to be expected, will be prompt and without reservations. However, for two reasons, it cannot be an easy gesture of moral support or a pious alibi of non-imperialistic superiority. In the first place, the American Southland is not altogether free from conditions analogous to forced labor. Wherever peonage exists, forced labor exists. Morally and practically, we need to remove this domestic mote before paying exclusive attention to the beam in the world's colonial eye. We have further the moral commitment of our share in the Liberian investigation.

But in the second place, and most importantly, we need to realize that American capital is penetrating in ever-increasing volume into the areas directly concerned in the campaign against forced labor. There is the direct penetration by American capital and corporations through concessions such as that of the Firestone Company in Liberia, or contracts such as that of the J. G. White Corporation in Abyssinia. Then, too, there is our tremendous participation through our investments in Belgian, British, and French colonial concessionary companies. So considerable this is that competent opinion estimates that American capital now holds or shortly will hold a preponderant position in the Belgian Congo, Guinea, and the Upper Volta, with a very considerable share in West African concerns generally. While we may rejoice that the Liberian report has given the Firestone Company a clean bill of health, there remains a constant danger and a continuous duty before American capital in this respect.



Aboriginal village in the hinterland

This drawing and those on the opposite page are from White Africans and Black, by C. LeRoy Baldridge. Courtesy W. W. Norton, publisher

As an illustration of how necessary it is for American capital to make sure of clean hands, we need only think of how inevitable inquiry into other areas will be after the precedent of the Liberian report. The League of Nations will no doubt soon give similar attention to a grave situation in Abyssinia, both under the pact against slavery to which Abyssinia is a signatory, and the new pact on Forced Labor. Alarming emphasis has been put on the question of the extent of domestic or patriarchal slavery in Abyssinia and Arabia by such books as Lady Kathleen Simon's Slavery, J. E. Baum's Savage Abyssinia, and Joseph Kessel's sensational exposures published a while back in Le Matin. Kessel claims to have found an extensive slave-trade into the Hedjaz from Abyssinia and adjacent parts of the Sudan, clandestinely disguised as pilgrim caravans, moving some of them through the British Port Sudan. In the case of Abyssinia, it is fortunate that for some years now she has had a decree making slave-trading punishable by death, and providing for the gradual abolition of household or patriarchal slavery by making such slaves or self-indentured servants automatically free on the death of their masters. Numbers running into several millions have thus been liberated. However, we have here a system backed by stubborn local tradition, as in the case of the similar "pawn" system in Liberia. Incidentally the border-line character of such practices of voluntary serfdom and indenture between formal and direct slavery, makes it obvious how necessary the Convention against Forced Labor is as a supplement and buttress to its predecessor, the Slavery Convention.

In spite of this important aspect, for America unfair labor contracts and coercion dictated by concessionary developments in backward countries will furnish our great pitfall on the subject. Had the Firestone concession not set up its own voluntary employment bureau rather than accept, as at first planned, the intermediary services of government labor recruiting, it would most surely have stood in the dock as particeps criminis with the King government. Again as another instance, rumors as to what might happen on the great irrigation project which the White Engineering Company have under concessions from the Emperor of Abyssinia, only recently compelled a declaration from Gano Dunn, its president, that "when the J. G. White Engineering Corporation undertakes any construction in Ethiopia, it will certainly treat as freemen all natives it employs and will by proper construction camps and sanitation introduce such conditions of working and well-being as

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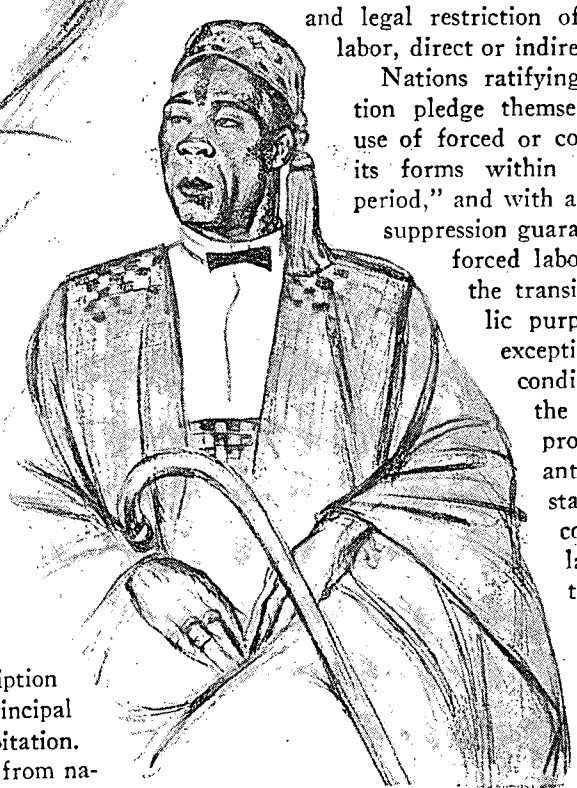
will meet the approval of enlightened humanitarians in the United States and elsewhere."

But what standard, and what agency of inspection, one may pertinently ask, will guarantee this, without expert definition of what safe working conditions, fair contract and wage, open labor markets, and reasonable guarantees really are? And what assurance is there in leaving this matter for private or public conscience and self-inspection to check rather than resort to standardized, legally enacted agreements and non-partisan, expert adjudication? No country, perhaps, can be expected to hold itself to strict accountability or a disinterested judgment for satisfactory humanitarian treatment of large subject populations, especially those under non-native colonial administration. International agreement is the only safe guarantee, and the mutual guardianship of international opinion the most effective machinery of operation.

So it is most fortunate that Geneva has set such a standard in the expertly devised instrument available in the recent Convention against Forced Labor. It was shocking to learn from the investigations of the Labor Convention's committee, directed by the late Harold A. Grimshaw, the mass plight of unskilled labor in the colonial areas of the world. In areas far in excess of Europe and America combined, the conditions of an open labor market were being restricted or waived entirely, and populations actually subjected by the million to labor conscription and unfair contract labor. There were three principal ways of achieving this wholesale economic exploitation.



Ex-President King of Liberia, whose administration fell as a result of the exposures of the International Commission. Right, a wealthy contractor of Kru-boys without whose labor no European cargo could be landed

First, there was the wholesale drafting of labor from native communities to engage in "public work" projects, either as civilian labor required to work under labor law draft at arbitrarily fixed wages or forced to labor on public works as the equivalent of prescribed military service. French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonial regimes, especially in Africa, were prone to this method. Then in the second place, there had grown up, especially in the African colonies and protectorates, the procedure of assessing poll or hut taxes in currency, which forced the male native population more or less wholesale into the fly-traps of concessionary companies and plantation owners, who usually gave arbitrary wages, unsanitary working conditions in many instances, and arbitrarily enforced work contracts. Finally, there was the wholesale recruitment of native labor by labor agents or indirectly through quota assessments on native chieftains, by which workers were drafted for short- or long-term service, the former generally without remuneration beyond upkeep, and the latter frequently on contracts which these workers signed under coercion after being drafted. In many cases, we must admit, the projects themselves were most worthy, either as schemes of economic or public-works development. But the procedures were in too many instances arbitrary, inhumane and unfair. The cloak of public works and public interest was too often used for cheap and easy promotion of military projects or those designed to benefit foreign investors and the export trade rather than the internal development of the country or the conservation of its natural resources. And even in cases where the direct responsibility was with private employers or employer companies, the pressure upon the worker was official and coercive. Thus the policy of labor conscription and coercion became by gradual degrees the standard practice and the accepted working principle of most colonial regimes. There is now no effective remedy short of wholesale prohibition and legal restriction of all forms of forced labor, direct or indirect, public and private.

Nations ratifying the present convention pledge themselves to "suppress the use of forced or compulsory labor in all its forms within the shortest possible period," and with a view to this complete suppression guarantee that "recourse to forced labor may be had during the transitional period for public purposes only and as an exceptional measure, in the conditions and subject to the guarantee hereinafter provided." These guarantees, which are in substance the first world code of the rights of labor, are the heart of the document, and it was over their specification that so much controversy arose. They may be said to be the accumulative effect of all the humanitarian agitation and exposure of irresponsible exploitation in the tropics since the famous exposé of conditions in the Belgian Congo by Morel and Nevinson and the Congo Reform Association. Their immediate antecedents are the restrictions and guarantees of native labor as written into the charters of the B and C class Mandates, the (*Continued on page* 629)

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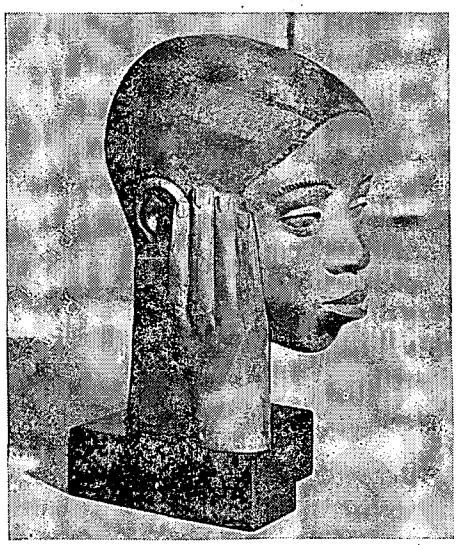
Old Snuff-Dipper, by Archibald John Motley



Chester, by Sargent Johnson

By Their Works . . .

IN a year when all artists are feeling the pinch of tightened purses, Negro artists are indeed hard hit, for their patronage is a young growth that still needs much tending. So the Harmon Foundation's annual exhibition of the work of Negro artists, now being held at the Art Center in New York, afterwards to tour the country if it arouses sufficient interest, takes on an added value. It is the best of their shows. As in earlier years the exhibition calls out the work of artists already getting recognition (a painting by Motley in an all-American show at the Newark Museum four years ago won the popularity prize) and the work of unknown people, such as the recipient this year of the special Otto H. Kahn prize of $250, Lillian Dorsey, a girl still in her teens. The story back of these entries is always a human-interest story: usually one of humble origins and ways of earning a livelihood—for most of these artists are truly "Sunday-painters." The banner behind which this exhibit marches has been perfectly raised by Marc Connelly in the announcement: "The artist . . . is urged to be (and recognized as) an artist solely. He is challenged to compete not with other races but with other artists in the divine search for eternal verities. . . . The critics of art will pass judgment on the tangible results."—F. L. K.

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Linoleum cuts by James Lesesne Wells, recipient of the Harmon award of a gold medal and $400. Mr. Wells, who is in the art department of Howard University, has done original sketches for Survey Graphic.

Photographs by James L. Allen, New York

Self Portrait, by Lillian A. Dorsey

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Who Bears the Business Risks?

By WILLIAM M. LEISERSON

BECAUSE the business man's point of view has dominated our American life, analysis and explanation of unemployment have tended to be in terms of production. But to say that unemployment is caused by overproduction, misdirected production, technological improvements or seasonal and cyclical changes is no more enlightening than to say that poverty is caused by lack of money. These classifications merely state the problems of the producers; they do not explain the failure of business management to overcome the basic conditions of fluctuating employment which are always present. The causes we should seek are the causes of the failure of our industries to reabsorb displaced labor and to provide subsistance for their workers during slack periods—not merely the causes of displacement.

If we could free ourselves of the producers' viewpoint, we would see that discussions of technological unemployment, overproduction, seasonal and cyclical unemployment are in effect attempted justifications of the failure of producers to do their job by placing the blame on the difficult conditions of irregularity under which they have to work.

These conditions can be illustrated by the railway express business. Railway express terminals would seem to be strongholds of regular employment. They work twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, twelve months a year, year in and year out. But within every day of twenty-four hours there are two peaks of three or four hours each when perhaps two, three, or four times as many workers are needed as at other times of the day. Within every week Thursday is the busy day, requiring from 30 to 50 per cent more workers than Monday and Saturday, and the other days have varying requirements in between. From month to month there are seasonal variations in business and employment, and the succession of slack and busy years is made more and more irregular by competition of parcel post, railroad forwarding companies, motor trucks, waterways, and air transportation. On top of these are the changes in labor forces required by building union terminals, improvements in methods of billing, substitutions of motor-drawn for horse-drawn vehicles.

The railway express business must operate under the fluctuating conditions described, regardless of whether the corporation is privately owned, government owned, owned by workers or by consumers. The reasons for the fluctuations are many and varied, but fluctuations are always present and the problem of management is how to operate and employ labor under such conditions.

But the contrast between our current methods of paying laborers and the methods of remunerating investors and owners, throws more light on the problem of unemployment than do the conditions of modern industry. When it rains or freezes, when it is too hot or too cold to work, when slack seasons and slack years, or inefficiency and miscalculations of management temporarily interrupt the flow of work, the wage-earner is required not only to wait until the management can use him, but also to do it at his own expense. Such waiting is not considered a cost of the industry in which he invests his labor and he is not paid for it. Similarly when managerial efficiency and technical improvements displace or render laborers obsolete, industry cuts off their income.

INCOME OF WAGE-EARNERS

Industry	*Approx. present number employed*	*Estimated aggregate present income on yearly basis*	*Reduction from 1929*
Railroads	1,564,300	$2,620,000,000	$321,000,000
Manufacturing	7,040,000	10,350,000,000	3,050,000,000
Construction	793,000	1,330,000,000	1,080,000,000
Trade and service	11,104,500	18,000,000,000	3,700,000,000
Water transport	163,700	348,000,000	185,000,000
Street railways	279,300	440,000,000	40,000,000
Amusements and musicians	230,000	420,000,000	240,000,000
Anthracite mining	138,800	190,000,000	45,000,000
Bituminous mining	462,000	545,000,000	115,000,000
Oil	90,000	160,000,000	20,000,000
Metal mining	92,600	141,000,000	39,000,000
Quarries	80,600	100,000,000	18,000,000
Light and Power	169,900	415,000,000	[1] 15,000,000
Telephone and Telegraph	426,395	695,000,000	15,000,000
Total above	22,635,095	$35,754,000,000	$8,853,000,000

[1] Gain.

There was a time when investors of capital had their income cut off in slack times in much the same way as most wage-earners have it now. But corporation management has changed all that. Consider, for example, the income of investors in this period of depression, the greatest we have had since 1893-4. The combined interest and dividend payments as published, for example, by the Standard Statistics Corporation were $8,000,000,000 in the depression year of 1930 and only $7,500,000,000 in the prosperous year 1929. Even the dividend payments alone were greater by $300,000,000—$3,700,000,000 in 1930 as compared with $3,400,000,000 in 1929. Of course individuals have suffered losses in income from their investments as well as heavy shrinkages in the market value of their securities, but what we are concerned with here are the total current payments made to the investing classes.

INCOME OF INVESTORS

Month	*Total dividend and interest payments* 1929	1930	*Total dividend payments* 1929	1930
January	925,100,000	1,120,000,000	348,800,000	491,000,000
February	439,700,000	517,100,000	240,700,000	292,900,000
March	529,000,000	608,400,000	264,800,000	328,400,000
April	678,800,000	744,900,000	280,700,000	325,200,000
May	490,400,000	570,300,000	253,400,000	308,300,000
June	658,300,000	721,100,000	271,900,000	329,400,000
July	897,900,000	715,900,000	382,700,000	373,000,000
August	410,500,000	423,500,000	209,500,000	196,500,000
September	530,200,000	524,100,000	238,200,000	228,100,000
October	767,900,000	763,300,000	343,200,000	320,000,000
November	553,500,000	579,000,000	289,800,000	277,500,000
December	690,900,000	712,900,000	278,500,000	283,900,000
Total	7,572,200,000	8,000,500,000	3,402,200,000	3,754,200,000

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And of course the industries which made these payments to investors did not earn this income in 1930. In fact, the average earnings declined about 30 per cent. That is to say, most industries had large portions of their investment idle, unemployed, but interest and dividend payments continued, as if the industries had earned them; and no one had been heard condemning such payments on the ground that they are doles paid to investors whose capital is not working—doles which destroy thrift, initiative, and self-reliance.

THAT dividend and interest payments are stabilized by building up reserves for the purpose is common knowledge. But the fact that these reserves mean that the investor does not do his own saving for periods of depression is not commonly realized. The management of industry does the saving for the individual investors, sometimes against the will of stockholders. There have been complaints and suits by stockholders asking that earnings be distributed so that stockholders could spend them. But the courts have upheld the right of the management to withhold earnings for reserves. Perhaps if high earnings in prosperous years were distributed to investors, they would dissipate them in buying silk shirts and speculating on stock exchanges or on race tracks, as working people are said to do with high wages. Then, when the years of depression come and their industries have losses instead of earnings, the stockholders might be compelled to apply for charitable relief.

In contrast with this doling out of dividends to investors in periods when their industries are not working or only partly working, consider what the same business managements do to their wage-earners. During the year 1930 while business was so seriously depressed, yet maintaining and increasing dividend and interest payments, the wages of working people declined by almost $10,000,000,000. In October the Standard Statistics Company reported that the

> income of workers has declined to a greater extent than the bare unemployment figures would imply. Because of wage cuts and part-time employment aggregate wages were estimated to have declined in the first ten months of 1930, from $44,607,000,000 to $35,754,000,000, a loss of $8,853,000,000, or 20 per cent.

Early in January the same authority estimated that the loss for the whole year 1930 had grown to $9,600,000,000.

If we take a longer view of the course of dividend and wage payments, the relation between income distribution and unemployment is revealed more significantly. The years 1924 and 1927 were marked by recessions in business, sharp drops in the indexes of employment and much complaint about unemployment. Nineteen twenty-seven particularly was the year when financial editors began to point out that the character of the problem of unemployment had changed so that instead of being a problem of industrial depression it had become a problem of business prosperity. According to Dr. W. I. King's tabulations, the earnings of wage-earners dropped an average of $16 per capita in 1924 from 1923, and an average of $12 per capita in 1927 as compared with 1926. But dividend and interest payments in 1924 and 1927 showed increases in spite of the business recession. King found that common stock dividends increased from $2,672,000,000 in 1923 to $3,337,000,000 in 1924, or $655,000,000, while the 1927 dividends exceeded those of 1926 by $410,000,000. Interest payments showed steady increases both in 1924 and 1927.

Turning to the major depression of 1921, we find that the per capita earnings of wage-workers were reduced by $290 for the year, or almost 23 per cent from 1920. In that same year, however, interest paid on investments increased by $71,000,000 and dividends, though they declined, showed a drop of only about 5 per cent.

According to King's investigations the incomes drawn by entrepreneurs and other property-owners increased in every single year from 1909 to 1928, except in 1921 when they dropped about 14 per cent, and this decline is accounted for mainly by the decrease in farmers' incomes. While the incomes of wage-earners fluctuate in correspondence with business cycles, the incomes of the investment entrepreneur classes (excepting farmers) mount steadily upward.

If anyone doubts the accuracy of this conclusion because of the margin of error that may be involved in the estimates of interest and dividend payments, all doubts will be dispelled by adding to the incomes of the investment and entrepreneur classes the salaries they draw as officials and managers of corporations. These salary payments have increased every single year from 1909 to 1926 regardless of prosperity or depression, both in total and in per capita amount.

When we turn from the business cycles to the seasonal fluctuations

Cartoon by Herbert Johnson, reprinted by special permission from The Saturday Evening Post, copyright 1930 by the Curtis Publishing Company

"Tut, tut, my dear! I'm saving it for a rainy day!"

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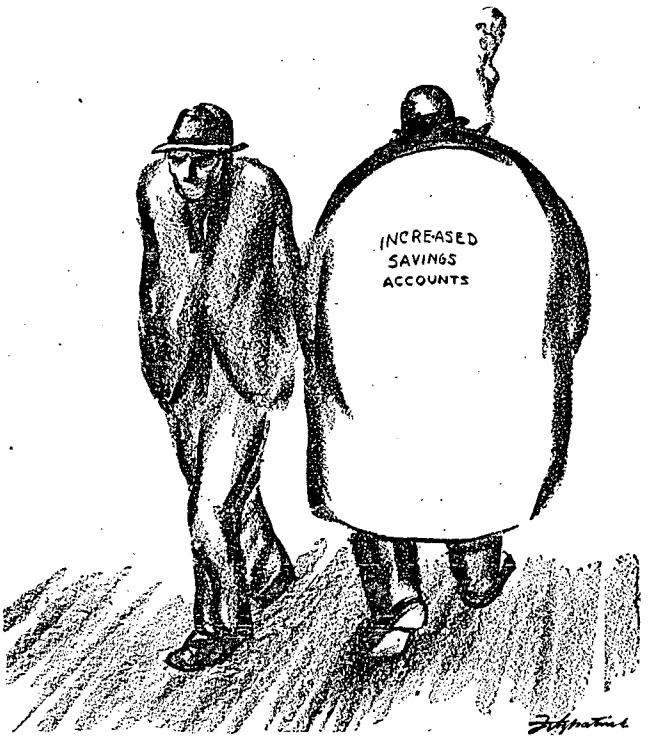
and the continuing irregularities caused by technological displacements, declining industries, over-expanded industries, changes in consumer demands, miscalculations and whatever else may bring about peaks and valleys within the business year, we find again that modern business management has devised effective methods of stabilizing the incomes of the investing, entrepreneur, and managerial classes, but not of the wage-earners. First, of course, there are the salaries of the officials of corporations and of the managerial staff, which, as we have seen, are not only maintained but increased from year to year regardless of the fluctuations in business. But more important are the accounting practices devised to protect the property and incomes of those who invest their capital in industry as distinguished from those who invest only human labor. These accounting practices that protect capital investments against suffering from unemployment have been established by the courts as inalienable rights of property, when invested in public utilities.

When an electric company or other public utility has a peak of employment for its capital and its labor at certain hours of the day, on certain days of the week and during certain months of the year, the courts have ruled that consumers must pay a return for the capital necessary to take care of the peak loads of business. That is to say, when the demand for electric current is low and capital and labor both have to be laid off and must remain idle until the peak demands return, it is required that the unemployed capital shall get the same rate of pay as if it were working; but the laid-off labor need not be so paid. And of course what the law provides in this respect for public utilities, every well-managed corporation provides in other businesses as well, as any cost accountant will testify.

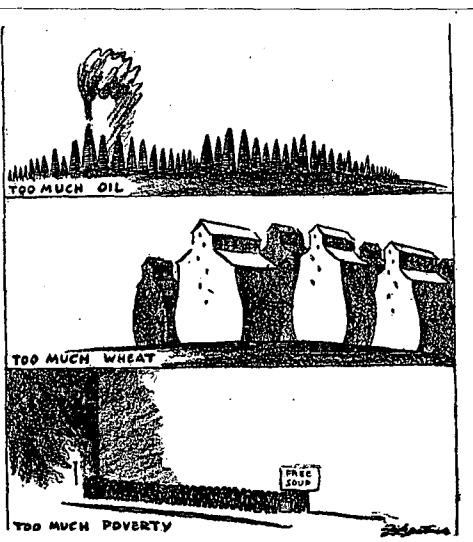
When capital gets too old to work, constitutional law and good accounting alike require that the unemployment caused by deterioration from old age shall be paid for by the industry in the form of a reserve for depreciation. Industry pays for this depreciation, be it remembered, over and above the rate of return on the capital invested. If, however, labor were paid for its loss of efficiency due to the deterioration that comes with age, anyone can see that such payments would weaken their characters and undermine their self-reliance.



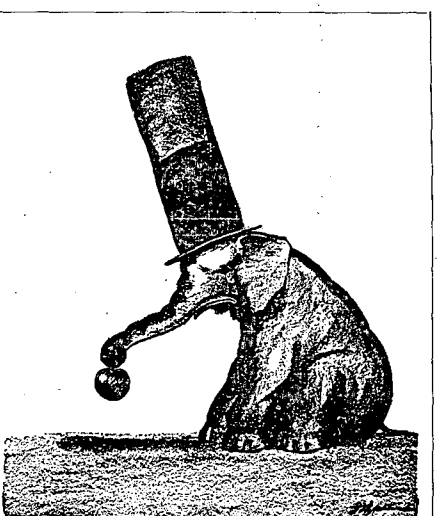
Passers-by

Apparently the characters of investors have weakened to such an extent and their stamina has been so undermined that they have actually demanded and secured insurance against unemployment caused by technological improvements. They have done this by harrowing descriptions of their suffering from obsolescence depreciation. It is fortunate indeed that our working people are too self-respecting, perhaps also too ignorant, to think up such a term as obsolescence depreciation and use it as a slogan to get funds which are nothing else than unemployment doles. Obsolescence depreciation works something like this: If the useful life of a machine is ordinarily 25 years, a depreciation charge of something like 4 per cent annually would have to be set aside as a reserve to take care of the unemployment it might suffer in its old age. But if rapid technical improvements are being made in this class of machines, it might have to be scrapped in ten years because a new and better machine takes its place. In such cases the courts have been led by suffering investors to rule that a 10 per cent depreciation charge ought to be

Strange bench-fellows



"What do you make of it, Watson?"



Ready for the handicap race

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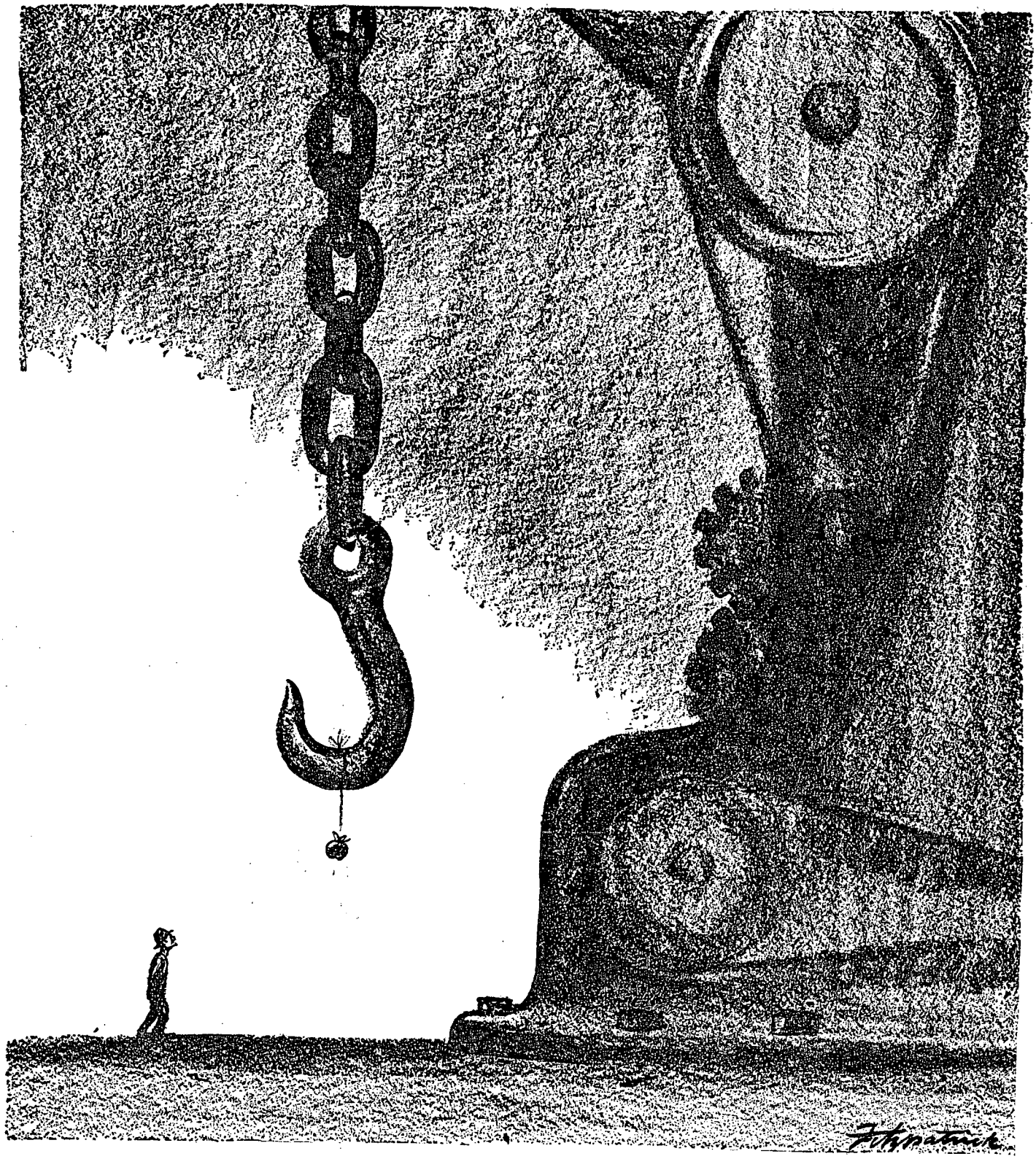

OUR GREAT MACHINE PRODUCES—AN APPLE

The sour little apple, fruit of the great American machinery of mass production, is perhaps the most striking cartoon of these hard times. Indeed, Daniel R. Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch is the outstanding cartoonist of unemployment. To his skill as an artist he adds a grasp of the causes of involuntary idleness, and a poignant feeling for the man who asks for work and is set at the peddler's semi-begging trade. The cartoons reproduced above and on the page opposite were chosen by Mr. Fitzpatrick from his files at the request of The Survey.

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made instead of 4 per cent, the extra 6 per cent being required to take care of the depreciation caused by the machinery becoming obsolete. Of course the courts would not have felt it right to provide such insurance against technological unemployment of the capital invested in public utilities if industries generally were not providing the same kind of insurance for their investors.

And what are the laws requiring certificates of convenience and necessity but measures designed to prevent the over-expansion of public utility industries? To avoid such over-expansion investors must ask permission to enter into competition with those already in the field and get a certificate of convenience and necessity. And if in the opinion of the government the facilities already available are sufficient to take care of the demand, investors are denied the privilege of going into the field. In effect they are told there isn't a chance for all the capital seeking investment in the industry to make a decent living there, and they must keep out.

OUTSIDE the field of public utilities, certificates of convenience and necessity are not used, but in some western states so-called proration laws have been enacted, authorizing and even compelling restricted output of oil in order to maintain a fair return for the capital, while surplus laborers are laid off without pay. At least one state supreme court has declared such a proration law constitutional.

Through trade associations and institutes, industrial managers attempt to adjust the producing capacities of their industries to the market demands for their products at prices that pay returns on the unemployed capital in the industry as well as on the capital which is at work. Sometimes this is done by mergers and consolidations, sometimes by shutting down plants, sometimes by eliminating the sinful practice of price-cutting. Of course agreements to fix prices are illegal; so agreements are rarely made. Instead we have educational meetings like that recently held by the Iron and Steel Institute at which discussions emphasized the patriotic need of maintaining and raising prices in order to pull the country out of the industrial depression. Then the United States Steel Corporation announced an increase in the price of steel and the independent competitors immediately followed with a statement that they would not be outdone. To use their own words, they "will meet the increase"!

While competitive industries have not yet succeeded in establishing guarantees against over-expansion and over-production, such as public utilities have in the certificate of convenience and necessity, they know the method by which this can be accomplished. To some extent they have already protected themselves by joint action in violation of law. All they need now is a modification of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and they will be able to make the method wholly effective. But it is important to note that when copper producers recently agreed to reduce output 20,000 tons a month to insure prices that will be high enough to pay returns on the unemployed as well as the employed capital in the industry, it was no part of the agreement to pay wages to the employes who might be laid off by the cut in production.

Whatever may have been true in the days of individual enterprises and petty trade, corporation enterprise and modern corporate industrialism have made the wage-earner bear the risks of industry while the incomes of the managers, entrepreneurs and investors who are supposed to be the risk-takers are largely safeguarded and insured.

And the risks of wage-earners are increased as the corporations grow in size and control a larger share of the total product of industry. The National Bureau of Economic Research found that while plants employing less than twenty persons showed a loss in wages during the depression of 1921 of only $44 per worker, and plants with from twenty-one to one hundred persons showed a loss of $132 per worker during that year, workers in the large plants employing more than one hundred persons lost on the average $432.

In the face of the professional rules developed by cost accountants, the protections thrown around the investors' incomes by governments, constitutions, and courts, and the combination of competitors that operate in violation of statutes, many economists and most business men still contend that the methods of paying wages, interest, and dividends which we have described are the natural methods, governed by natural laws of income distribution which a nation changes or modifies only at its peril. But has the fear of such divine or natural punishment any place in a social economics that calls itself scientific?

Certainly Adam Smith would hardly agree that modern industrial management with its combinations, consolidations, holding corporations, patent pools, protective tariffs, trade associations, educational institutes, trade practice conferences and codes of business ethics that made a deadly sin of price competition operates in accordance with his system of natural liberty. He condemned, it will be recalled, all meetings of competitors. It is well known, he wrote, that even when they gather only for "merriment and diversion," the conversation soon turns to prices and ends in a conspiracy against the public.

Adam Smith's natural system implied real he-man individualism with cut-throat competition. Any artificial regulations by business competitors he regarded as more undesirable interference with what he termed the natural laws of trade than the interference of government regulation. Modern industrial management uses both government regulation and its own artificial rules to suit its purposes; nevertheless the investors, managers, and entrepeneurs do not seem to have fared very badly in spite of these evident interferences with the natural laws of distribution. Apparently, calamity results only if natural laws are interfered with in behalf of wage-earners.

IF we inquire into the methods of distributing income in a scientific manner without superstitious fear of punishment for interfering with so-called natural laws, we should find that much of our economic reasoning as to the effects of displacement of labor by machinery, managerial improvements, changes in consumer demands and seasonal and cyclical fluctuations will have to be revised. The reasoning assumes that the purchasing power and consumer demand of a nation are maintained if the total income of that nation is maintained. It is clearly established however, that during the less severe depressions, such as those of 1927, 1924, and 1914, the total national income increased, the incomes of the investment and managerial classes also increased, and only the wage-earners' portion was reduced. And while the national income did decline in severe depression years such as 1921 and 1930, the difference in the total realized income between these years and the preceding years of prosperity was not sufficient to account for the (*Continued on page* 622)

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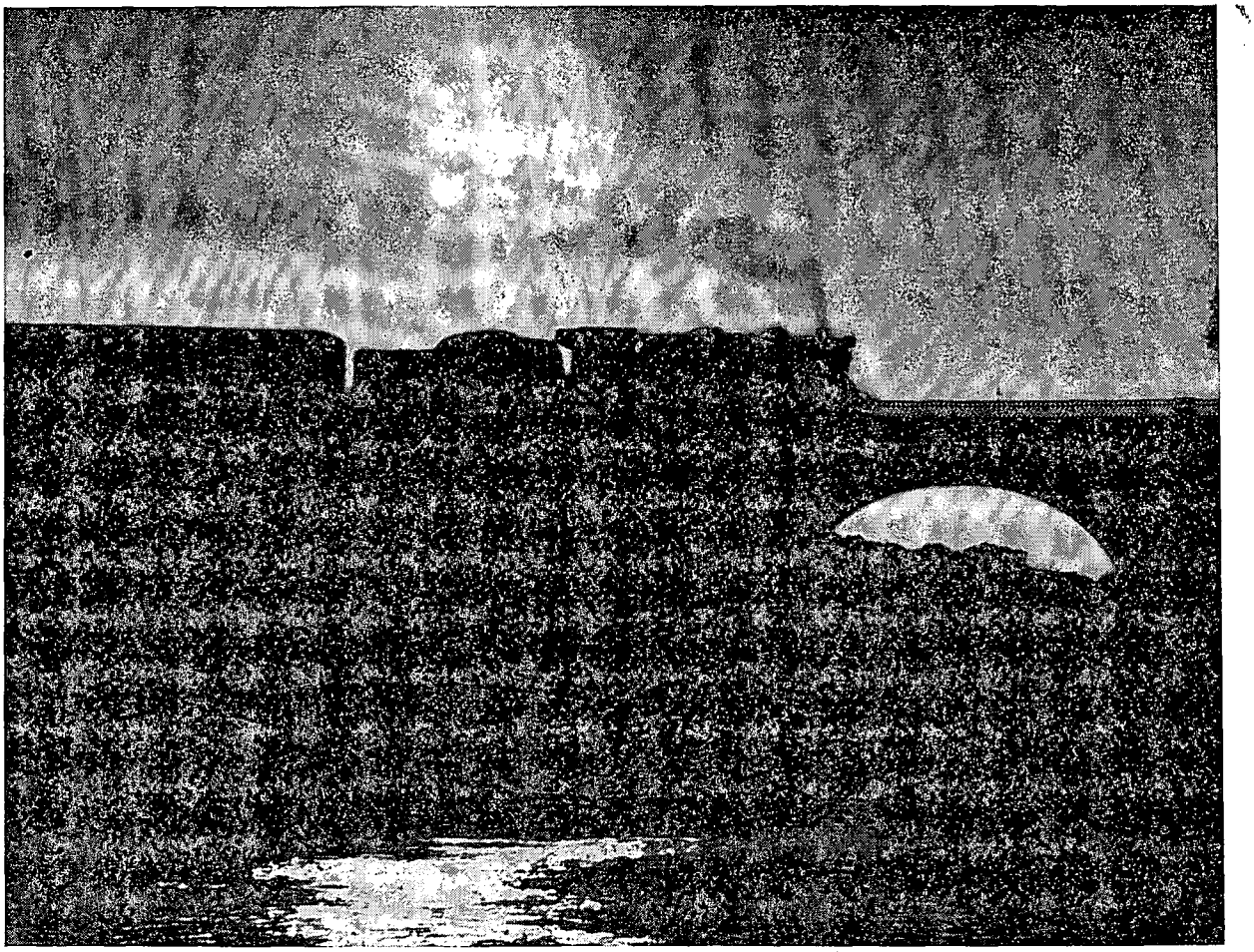

THE NIGHT FLYER

Keeping at the Job

How the B. & O. and Its Union Shopmen Are Weathering the Depression

By OTTO S. BEYER

EARLY in 1923 the representatives of the union shopmen and the management of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad gathered around the conference table. The 1921-22 depression had spent itself, business was looking up and employment was on the increase. It was a good time to explore the possibilities of organized cooperation, given the willingness of the company to regard labor unions as potential assets rather than as inevitable liabilities to industry. But the rosy side of the employment picture in 1923 did not blind the spokesmen for labor or management to the one serious menace which might arise at any time to harass cooperation, namely unemployment. The prevention of unemployment was recognized as the keynote to the arch of the shopmen's cooperation with management. Both men and management have worked steadily for the last eight years at anchoring this keystone solidly into place. The real test of the labor relationship came with the present business depression. Would the arch of cooperation hold up? It has. There are more men at work in the Baltimore and Ohio shops today than there were in January 1930!

This employment record is the result of continuing effort to regularize work, to connect displaced men with new jobs without delay, and to develop emergency measures for tiding the force over an acute business depression. The first part of the program includes allocation of new work to the shops, and forecasting and budgeting work and expenses for a year ahead, after careful study of the general business situation and of the company's needs. The second part of the program has developed a "clearing house" for shop labor on the Baltimore and Ohio. The emergency measures, many of which are proving their worth today, were developed before the current slump in business occurred.

This cooperative program evolved by management and men to secure steady work and steady incomes for wage-earners around the year goes back to the summer of 1923 when, following conferences initiating the cooperative program, the shop craft unions set down the steps they felt should be taken to regularize employment. This memorandum encouraged the further development of projects already started by management to insure greater regularity and proposed additional undertakings. It pointed out the necessity

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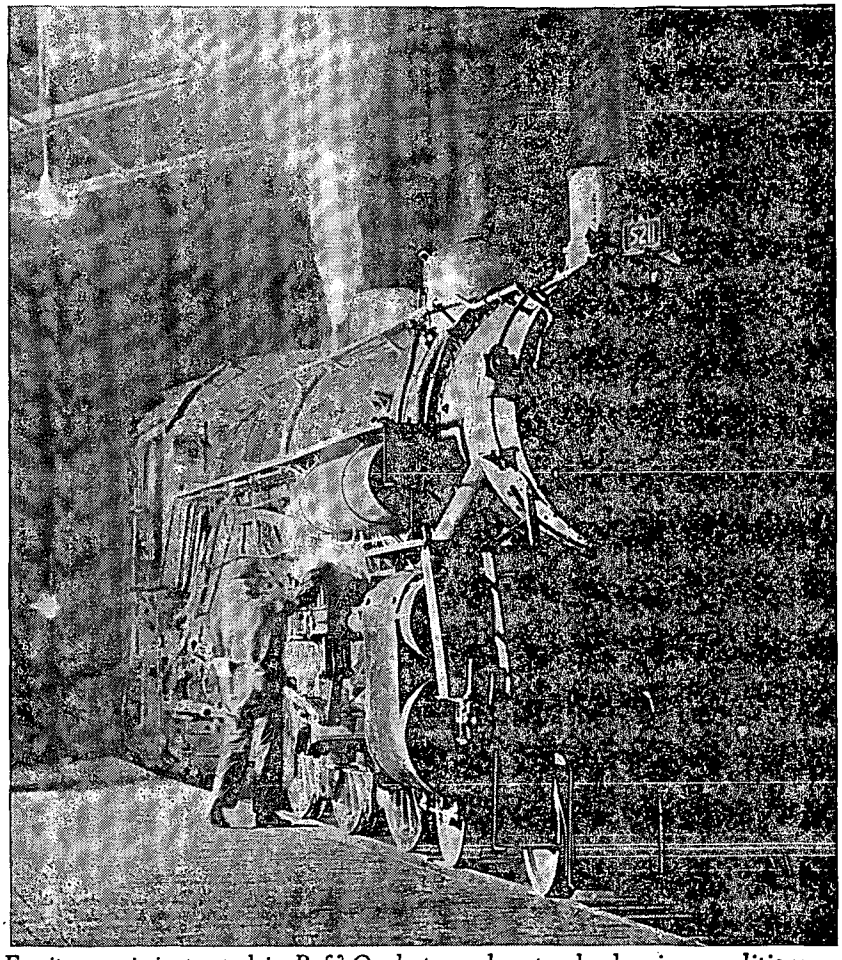


Equipment is inspected in B. & O. shops under standard union conditions—

of supplementing regular locomotive and car repairs by building or rebuilding rolling stock and accessories. Such work was immediately available as a result of the annual billion-dollar railroad modernizing program adopted by all the railroad executives in 1923. The memorandum also urged the men and their unions to make every effort to help management do this additional work at costs that would justify its being done in the company's own shops under standard union conditions. It suggested the yearly planning and budgeting of work and expenditures so that activity in the shops and hence employment would be as uniform as possible throughout the year.

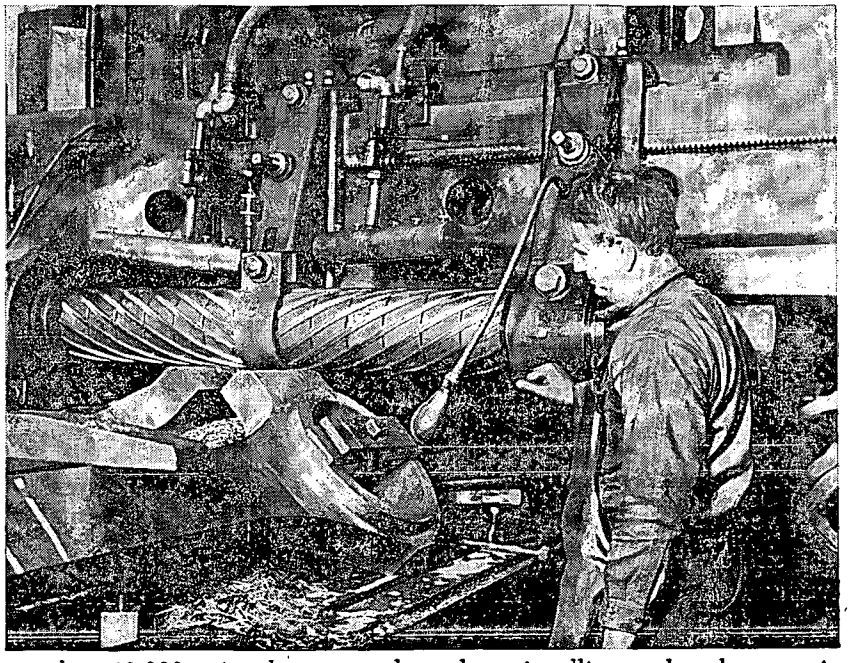
Finally, the memorandum proposed the establishment on a permanent basis of a normal shop force. This called for a careful study of business, traffic, and repair requirements in relation to shopcraft employment over recent years, and, based on this, the gradual organization of a shop force, each member of which would have maximum employment throughout the year. In this connection the memorandum provided for the establishment of a clearing house to enable employes not needed at one point on the road to connect promptly with available jobs at other points.

In his report to the convention of the union shopmen last May, William McGee, president of Baltimore and Ohio System Federation No. 30, Federated Shop Craft, stated, in showing what had been done in the way of "B. & O. work for B. & O. shops" that

> much additional work has been supplied our membership by reason of management having expended approximately $20,000,000 in labor costs alone since 1923 for repairs to equipment that had been formerly done by outside locomotive and car shops, and for the manufacturing of certain materials that in former years had been purchased from outside supply companies.

Since the annual shop payroll of the Baltimore and Ohio is approximately $25,000,000, this fund of work which netted twenty-million dollars worth of jobs meant the equivalent of almost a year's additional work for the entire force, thus providing a real safeguard against short time and lay-offs. Last October when the employment outlook was very black indeed, the company authorized a four-million dollar appropriation to build one thousand steel box-cars, one thousand heavy gondola cars, and forty-five locomotive tanks, the gondola cars, tanks and trucks for the box-cars to be built in company shops during this winter and spring. This plan is now providing between 60,000 and 70,000 additional man-days employment.

Moreover, the company adopted the practice of planning and budgeting its shop work and expenditures a years in advance. During the last months of the closing year a detailed review is made of the prevailing and prospective business situation particularly in the territory served by the railroad and in the principal traffic-producing industries. At the same time the physical condition of the rolling stock is noted, necessary improvements decided upon, and the requirements thus determined for the ensuing year. The budget is based on physical factors which are converted into man-hours and quantities of materials and fuel, all subdivided by weeks and months for the year ahead.



—where 12,000 union shopmen make and repair rolling stock and accessories

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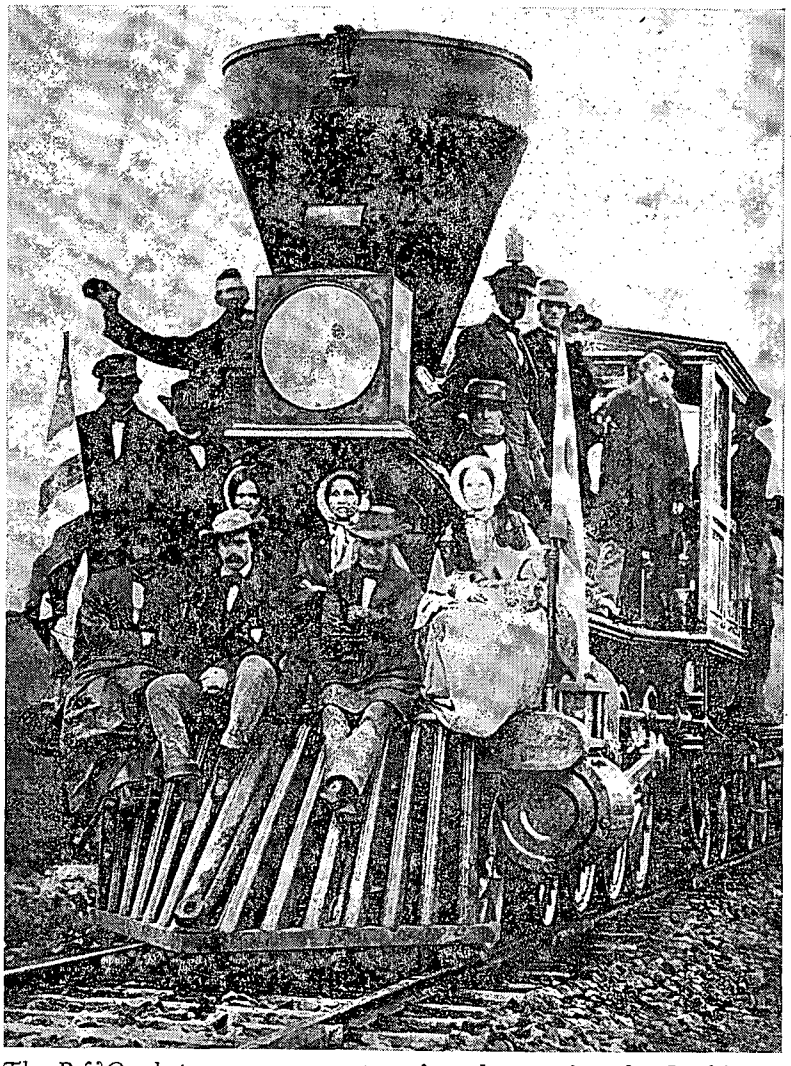
This budget is ready in January and is used as the basis for the conferences between the shopmen's representatives and the management which take place early in the year. It has been found that approximately 12,000 machinists, blacksmiths, sheet-metal workers, electricians, car mechanics, their helpers and apprentices constitute a normal force of shopmen for the Baltimore and Ohio. The accuracy of this figure is shown by the fact that the railroad has kept this number of men at work for the last fourteen months with a minimum loss of time for some of them due to a few short shut-downs of heavy repair points.

The clearing house or placement bureaus for employes, a system of registry and transfer for workers whose services are no longer needed at certain points, was installed in response to the unions' suggestion. Changes in train service, transfer of work, fire, floods, apprentices completing their time and other factors operate all the time on a large and complicated railroad system to change local employment needs. For example, owing to the serious decline of passenger traffic in the Shenandoah Valley, the B. & O. was obliged to discontinue some of its passenger trains which were being run at a loss. This made the service of two employes at a small outlying repair point unnecessary. Through the placement service, arrangements were made to transfer these men to a large shop point near their original place of employment. Similarly when an apprentice completes his time, the employment service helps him locate permanently in one of the shops. The efficient operation of this service has helped many hundred shopmen to jobs elsewhere on the railroad. The plan has now been applied to employes of other departments. Records are kept of all employes "on furlough" and before a vacancy can be filled anywhere on the system, the employing officer must give first consideration to those listed by the placement service.



The B.&O. christens a new section of track just after the Civil War

Placement service has been made to reach even beyond the railroad itself. Whenever a contract is let for a new building, a bridge, a piece of track construction or new rolling stock which cannot be built in company shops, the contract provides that Baltimore and Ohio employes on furlough are to have preferred consideration with the contracting firm. Under such an arrangement about 160 Baltimore and Ohio carmen were recently put to work at the plant which got the order to build the one thousand box-car bodies for which the railroad shops are building the trucks.

All these measures, however, despite their help in reducing unemployment, were not expected to solve the problem in its entirety, particularly in the event of a major depression.

Rule No. 24 of the shopcraft unions' agreement with the company provides that "reductions in hours will not be made in lieu of reductions in force." This simply means that the management is prohibited from reducing the standard work week from six days of eight hours each to five or four or three days in order to cut costs. Instead it makes it necessary to lay off men to accomplish this purpose, the newest employes to go first. The experience of the shopmen has made them feel that railroad managements hesitate longer about laying off men than working short time in order to reduce expense. Lay-offs tend to disrupt the shop organization and increase labor turnover. Further, the shopmen consider that willingness to live on less than full weekly pay would be taken as an admission that they could get along permanently on less and so would tend to reduce wages.

If however, despite everything the management does to keep men at work, retrenchment in expenses became necessary due to acute depression, how could such retrenchment be made in the face of Rule No. 24 without laying off men? How the problem of providing some flexibility in the standard workweek was met by the unions to stabilize employment while safeguarding the advantages of the rigid 48-hour week, is in itself a long and interesting story of labor statesmanship. After careful study of the problem by committees of experts supplemented by much discussion and lively debate, it was finally agreed to empower the system committee of the shopmen to enter into special or emergency agreements with the management providing for the necessary flexibility in the weekly working hours. In their mandate to their spokesmen the shopmen stipulated that such agreements could only be entered into upon full knowledge of all the facts, financial and otherwise, bearing on the situation, and after the committee was assured that everything management

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could reasonably be expected to do had been done to reduce the hours to be lost to a minimum.

When therefore it became necessary to deal with the prevailing depression on an emergency basis, the shopcraft representatives were ready. The primary budget requirements and management's contributions of new work were being adequately handled. It was not difficult therefore to draw up an agreement which, through reduction of the work-week from six to five days, was calculated to tide over the depression without discharging men. This agreement, entered into early in 1930, is still in effect.

A FURTHER measure designed to provide additional employment during the depression was adopted by mutual consent. A railroad shop, engine house, or car-repair yard organization is a carefully balanced force of workmen, something like a football team. If, for example, the locomotive boiler inspector or the machinist working on air brakes or the car mechanic assigned to freight or passenger train inspection and repairs fails to report for duty, the smooth running of the engine house or car yard is as seriously affected as would be a football team should an end or one of the backs be absent at line-up. The team safeguards itself by substitutes. Since the quota of mechanics for each shop is as fixed as the make-up of the varsity, because of the "normal force" provision already described, it was arranged to let shop employes not of the "normal force" but with seniority rights substitute for regulars temporarily off duty. In this connection, certain working rules, such as giving four days notice before lay-off, had to be waived by the unions. In return management has so regulated matters that the substitutes secure a minimum of three days work a week. Under this arrangement one thousand men, in addition to the normal force, have half-time or better in spite of the depression. Most of these substitutes are either apprentices just out of their time, individuals who have perhaps worked at some point where, in recent years, the force had to be temporarily increased because of sudden increases in traffic, or employes like the two referred to above, who have become surplus because of unexpected dislocation in local train service. A certain amount of shifting in personnel is always taking place on a railroad. The provision of closely regulated lists of substitute employes coupled with the placement service previously described in reality makes a virtue out of an otherwise necessitous situation.

THE picture of the unemployment relief measures adopted on the Baltimore and Ohio would not be complete without brief reference to the efforts made by the employes and their unions to save material and eliminate waste, secure and hold traffic, improve service and promote public good-will. It is during slack times that such efforts count for most in keeping men at work. It is a B. & O. slogan that a dollar saved in material is a dollar available for wages. Labor and material expenses are about equal on a railroad and together make up nearly 80 per cent of the total operating expense. But when costs have been cut to bed rock, every dollar earned by hauling extra passengers or freight makes 65 to 75 cents available for wages. Baltimore and Ohio employes are kept fully informed of all such facts and figures. Shop operating costs and labor material ratios are a frequent subject of conference in the shop cooperative committees. Well organized efforts are sponsored by these joint committees to save material, to prevent defects to locomotives and cars which might result in failures, delayed trains, derailments, loss and damage, and poor service. President McGee of the union shopmen on the B. & O. in a circular letter dated January 19, 1931, reporting the results of the latest stabilization conferences, put matters up to his constituents thus:

> Management has contended that unless . . . revenues are materially improved, the [stabilization] arrangement will tend to create the hazard of a deficit in their allotment of maintenance expenses. . . . In reply to this possibility we have stated that our people would sincerely strive to make every possible saving by way of conserving material, performing their various tasks in the best possible manner to avoid duplication, and in various other ways set about to accomplish this desirable end. . . .
>
> In this connection we should realize that our problems in such circumstances ought to be of the greatest concern to every one of us. We should be ever mindful of the important fact that every dollar saved by way of conservation of material, doing our work in the best possible fashion, and soon, will tend to reduce to that extent the cost of maintenance and repair charges and consequently make possible a greater portion of the available monies to be utilized for labor.
>
> It is certainly to our best interest to do all that we possibly can in this respect, keeping in mind that whatever we save in this direction represents available money for "man-hours" and we therefore earnestly and respectfully urge your fullest cooperation by a full and free discussion of this subject in your respective local lodges and local Federation meetings for the purpose of fully informing the membership to the end that this accomplishment can be realized.

COMING to the employes from their leaders through their unions such appeals are potent. The workers respond to them with enthusiasm and the effects are noticeable in the expense accounts of the railroad.

Similar organized efforts are made on the B. & O. to secure traffic and promote public good-will. To see that these efforts, too, have been effective one need only compare the decline in traffic during 1930 on the B. & O. with the corresponding records of its competitors. The operating revenue figures on the B. & O. up to November 1930, the last month available, show a falling off of 15.5 per cent as compared with 1929. On a comparable road, the corresponding drop is 16.7 per cent. Had this competitor been as successful as the Baltimore and Ohio in resisting the inroads of traffic decline, it would have been $7,700,000 better off at the end of November than it actually was.

Even more telling is a comparison of shopcraft employment records. Here are the figures for October 1930, the latest month available as compared with January 1930, the first month of serious business sag for the railroads, showing more than 1 per cent increase in the number of shopcraft employes working for the B. & O. and decreases of from 8 to 11 per cent in the numbers of the same class of employes on the other roads:

SHOP CRAFT EMPLOYES

Month of October 1930 Compared With Month of January 1930

	October, 1930 Employes	*January, 1930 Employes*	*Increase or Decrease Employes*
Baltimore & Ohio	12,285	12,112	I 173
Pennsylvania	32,598	35,596	D 2998
New York Central	15,820	17,288	D 1468
Erie	6136	6916	D 780

Since October 1930, despite (*Continued on page* 621)

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A Program of Public Works

By OTTO T. MALLERY

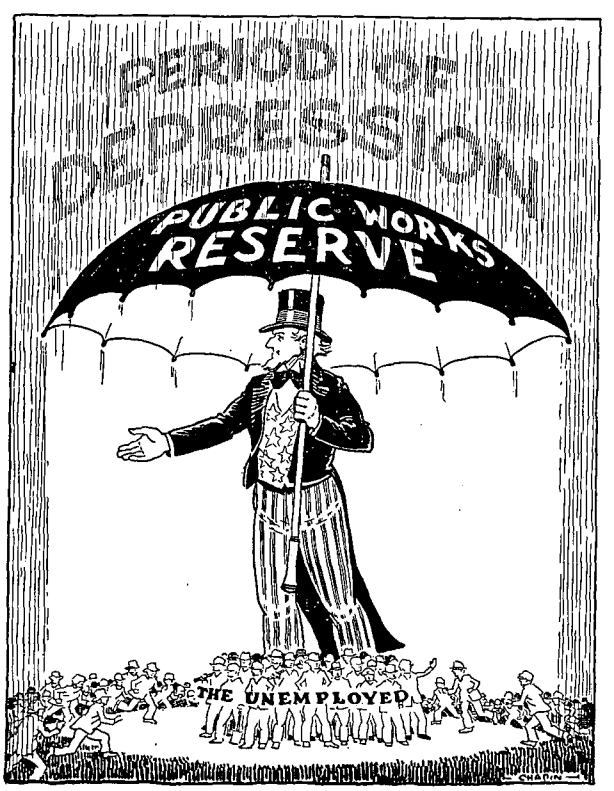
Cartoon by A. W. Chapin

PLENTY of rain but no umbrella. "The American people never carry an umbrella. They prefer to walk in eternal sunshine. In times of prosperity and plenty the public . . . orator who would suggest a measure for unemployment relief would find it most difficult to get an audience. . . . There is little doubt in my mind that we may be able to work out some system of deferring portions of public work and hold them in reserve for . . . unemployment." These are the wise words of Alfred E. Smith.

Herbert Hoover has for nine years been preaching the advance planning of public works to stabilize employment and industry. He said in his recent message to Congress:

> It has been the universal experience in previous depressions that public works and private construction have fallen off rapidly. On this occasion, however, the increased authorization and generous appropriations of Congress and the action of the states and municipalities have resulted in the expansion of public work to an amount even above that in the most prosperous years. . . . As a contribution to the situation the federal government is engaged upon the greatest program of waterway, harbor, flood control, public building, highway and airway improvement in all our history.

The President was forced to add, however, that in view of the time required to make engineering, architectural, and legal preparations he could not find more than $150,000,000 worth of necessary federal work, on top of the speeding up program already authorized early in 1930, which could be started within the next six months. This is the crux of all experience. Public works can not be extemporized. Advance planning and financial reserves are necessary before large-scale employment can be added by emergency measures.



For this reason cries are heard that the federal government is not doing enough in the present crisis. Public works are as popular as peanuts with the elephant, but when the elephant is hungry is not a good time to plant the peanuts. Sound public works are impossible to start suddenly on an adequate scale.

The federal government has a much better record than the states and cities. Federal public works have been expanded over 20 per cent in 1930 as compared with 1929, and about 50 per cent over the average of the preceding six years. This is an outstanding achievement in the face of the contrary tendency during past depressions. The credit is due to President Hoover's leadership, to congressional appropriations and to extra effort by many federal construction agencies. In addition to the increase provided for in the regular appropriation bills and now being spent, Congress appropriated in December 1930 an extra $116,000,000 for 1931.

IT was comforting to read on the front pages of our newspapers last spring the reports of the governors to the President that tens and hundreds of millions of public works were being thrown into the breach to check the depression. Behind this move was a tremendous sincerity. But looking at these dollar figures now in terms of percentages, it is evident that they conveyed a false impression. The unpleasant truth is that public works, exclusive of those of the federal government, did not increase in 1930 more than 4 per cent over 1929 and about 10 per cent over a six-year average.

Increasing bond sales is the principal means of increasing municipal public works because tax proceeds do not increase in bad times. Bonds represent financial energy ready to be expended. Sales of new long-term municipal bonds in 1930 were less by 4 per cent than in 1929 and 2 per cent below the six-year average. Short-term municipal notes, a small part of which might be expended upon public works, also decreased. If the visible sources from which municipal works must be paid have not increased, how can the public works of cities and states have greatly increased?

The highest estimate of increase is from the mayors of 210 cities who reported that in November 1930 they were employing 248,748 workers, or 11 per cent more than in 1929. The number during the same months on all projects financed in part by federal-aid funds had increased 11 per cent while the number employed on state public works increased 6 per cent. Even if this highest estimate of 11 per cent for one month in twenty states had continued for the entire twelve months and in all the forty-eight states, the total public works of the country would have absorbed only about 12 per cent of the fall in private construction. The real results are much closer to 4 per cent than to this

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highly suppositious 11 per cent. Therefore public works have absorbed much less than 12 per cent of the fall in the volume of private construction such as dwellings and railroads. Let us encourage ourselves with the fact that public works held firm when nearly everything else collapsed. In the good times of the past, public works have constituted from one-quarter to one-third of all construction, but in the depression of 1930 they rose to about one-half; that is to say, rose to one-half of all the sum paid to unskilled workers, to the makers of building materials, and to all the workers in forests and mines and factories, in this basic industry, upon which twenty-nine other industries depend.

THESE negative conclusions are presented only because a positive solution lies just around the corner. This solution is brought nearer by the knowledge that public works under the greatest impetus of modern times and with the widest popular urge, have not been extemporized in the country as a whole in any important volume.

The essential program for tomorrow lies in the adoption by the principal states, while their present legislatures are in session, of two measures. The first is an advance planning act similar to the federal bill of Senator Wagner of New York, which passed Congress February second. The second measure is the creation by constitutional amendment of credit reserves for the states and cities. A sound umbrella can not be had for less. If it is not worth the price, we must still cling to the vain hope of walking in eternal sunshine. By this time even the ducks are wet. Enough people are wet and sick enough to stand for an unsugarcoated dose that penetrates to the base of the malady.

THE Wagner Act, S.5776, sponsored and carried through by Senator Robert Wagner of New York, creates a Federal Employment Stabilization Board with a director and staff. Each federal construction agency is instructed to prepare a six-year advance construction plan, assigning certain projects to each year. The director of the budget is required to consolidate these scores of plans, after making such changes and recommendations as a responsible financial officer commonly makes. Not only in bad times but at all times the President is requested to consider the state of general business and employment before budgeting the amount of public works. The wind is to be tempered to the lamb, whether shorn or unshorn. Public works is to move in both directions from the average and always opposite to the swing of the economic pendulum. If we had had such machinery oiled and in working order today it is easy to see that the President would have been able to find enough well-considered projects in the six-year plan to multiply signficantly the volume of work now under way.

The Federal Employment Stablization Board is to gather information concerning construction plans of the states, cities, railroads, public utilities and manufacturing corporations. The gathering of such information may amount to a mental suggestion in the direction of advance planning. The Board having developed the technique of advance planning, may pass it on to others. Passing technique will be harder than passing the buck, the popular game of the moment. The technique of advance planning is now as unexistant in most state and city governments as the technique of flying was before the gas engine was invented.

The quick starting power to lift a cumbersome state or city government against the downward forces of depression is the power to sell bonds for public works in bad times. Some states have no constitutional power to borrow at any time. Others can borrow only after such long delays and under such restrictions that the power can not be used in bad times. Therefore the first plank of the proposed program is a constitutional amendment allowing the state to sell a limited amount of stabilization bonds for public works only when the governor shall find a period of unemployment and industrial depression exists. This discretionary power of the governor may be qualified so that he may act only with the approval of certain other authorities. The bonds should be issuable only within six months after the governor's announcement in order that work must begin promptly.

Such borrowing power would be useless unless a state first had an advance planning board as provided by the Wagner Act. Under such a state act the six-year advance construction plan could be accelerated whenever the governor announces a period of depression. The stabilization board would carry this gospel to the towns and would offer advice to the smaller incorporated units and suggest the technique by which to develop their own six-year construction plans. The execution of public works during bad times would be transferred from the headlines of newspapers to the ditches.

UNDER present legislation and practice the towns and cities are somewhat helpless. They give away their financial umbrellas on sunny days. When bad days come they have so far exhausted their borrowing power that they can not even buy a bone-headed handle. A constitutional amendment is necessary to create for the cities a credit reserve that can not be used except when the governor declares a period of unemployment. A credit reserve of ½ per cent of assessed valuation is suggested. Such a small addition would not impair present obligations nor would it be opposed by municipal officials.

The next supplementary proposal is directly in the interest of bondholders and taxpayers, though not necessarily welcome to all politicians: to provide that the existing borrowing power of towns that still have more than ½ per cent, shall be reduced by ½ per cent and this reduced margin constitute an additional credit reserve to be used only after the governor's announcement of bad times. Only those municipalities that have such an unused margin six months after the amendment is passed would be affected. The combined result would be to assure to every town a credit reserve of at least ½ per cent, and to assure to some towns a reserve of 1 per cent. This could truly be called a prosperity reserve because it reserves some prosperity for periods when it is conspicuously absent. With this reserve released, employment and purchasing power would feel an electric shock.

If only the 146 principal cities, and not the little towns, counties, or states, utilized their reserves, an increase of 50 per cent in public works would take place during the next depression, instead of the 4 per cent during the present period. This represents a potential increase of twelve times the actual increase which has occurred. If all the little towns and counties should join in, but not the states, the increased amount of public works started during the next depression would more than offset the maximum fall in private construction which occurred in this or any previous period of unemployment.

Cities and taxpayers would (*Continued on page* 625)

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Laboratory Specimens

By ROSS L. LAYBOURN

Drawings by Catharine Lewis

OPENING the mail in a state health department laboratory is much like investigating the contents of a Christmas stocking. What next? No one can guess. A cake is unwrapped and the technician giggles as she reads the letter that came with it. A farmer informs her that he is a bachelor and that someone left this cake on the kitchen table one evening while he "was out to the barn slopping the hogs." It never entered his head that some female might have designs on his state of single blessedness, and he jumped at the conclusion that someone was trying to poison him. Members of the laboratory staff tested it in the way that all good cakes should be tested and agreed that the lady who baked it was mistress of the culinary art.

Taking a chance? You bet they were—but a chemist who has tested dozens of such specimens without finding anything wrong becomes cynical and doubts the possibility of poison in any specimen that is received. Then something happens. A tempting cake was once sent to a municipal health department laboratory and this one was supposed to be the cause of the serious illness of every member of a family that had eaten it. This did not keep the chemist to whom it was assigned from eating a piece and giving some to another chemist. Then things began to happen. A chemical analysis was unnecessary, for the two chemists had made human test tubes of themselves. Prompt action at a hospital just across the street prevented serious consequences and later, two sadder but wiser chemists made an analysis and found large quantities of arsenic. A new cook had been employed by the family that was poisoned and, after baking the cake, she had rummaged through the pantry for powdered sugar for the icing. Tucked back on an upper shelf was a sack of what looked like powdered sugar which she used without asking questions. The sack contained arsenic intended for use in keeping insects out of fur coats.

The mentally deranged and those who are unduly suspicious of their fellow man send in everything from face powder to toothpicks for poison analysis and the letters that accompany these contributions range from the ridiculous to the sublime. A bottle of coffee and a sack of coffee grounds were wrapped in an old piece of paper which bore the following message:

Gents

Enclosed find under separated cover to find out whether I have bugs in my neck.

Hoping to hear from you dam soon.

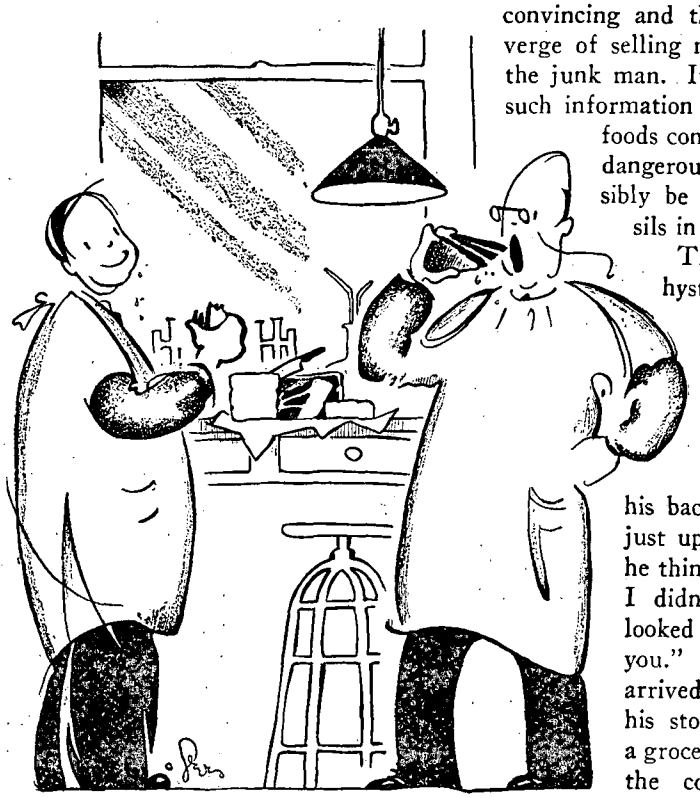
Yours truly

Steve Chadwick

this bottle contains coffee made Saturday evening and the bottle has had castor oil in it. But the coffee has at different times just when a certain party has had free run through the kitchen, had spasmodic effects on Mrs. William Teeters, who is subject to sinking spells. But while said party was sick and at Home for a few weeks Mrs. Teeters rested one month without trouble. Now I am not troubled in the least with sinking spells but the coffee has at times made me feel savage and angry amediately after drinking it. other times it has caused me to use all my will power to keep from laughing like a crazy loon. another reason of suspicion of party, a woman, shows her affection for Mrs. Teeters Husband and has been known to abuse her own husband who is a cripple. now there are various reasons i will not state now Just should you find nothing it is the milk that is placed for the coffee. I have gone to this woman and asked her before telling any one else. This is all do what you think wise.

"Crazy loon"—perhaps those two words explain the letter.

An old gentleman is much disturbed by an article in a fanatical publication which advances the startling theory that cancer and most other ills are caused by the use of a certain kind of cooking utensil. It would have been just as logical to argue that the imposing list of maladies given in this article were due to women bobbing their hair or the increased use of chewing gum, but the figures given seemed convincing and the old fellow was on the verge of selling most of his kitchenware to the junk man. It took a long letter to nail such information and show him that certain foods contain more of the supposedly dangerous substance than could possibly be dissolved from these utensils in cooking food.



Members of the laboratory staff tested the cake

The World War with its hysteria and rumors of enemy sympathizers made life anything but monotonous for the laboratories. The commanding officer of an extra-cantonment zone sanitary district phoned his bacteriologist: "A fellow was just up here with something that he thinks is part of a poison plot. I didn't know what it was, so looked wise and told him to see you." The man with the mystery arrived at the laboratry and told his story. He was dealing with a grocer whose sympathies favored the countries with which the United States was at war and the

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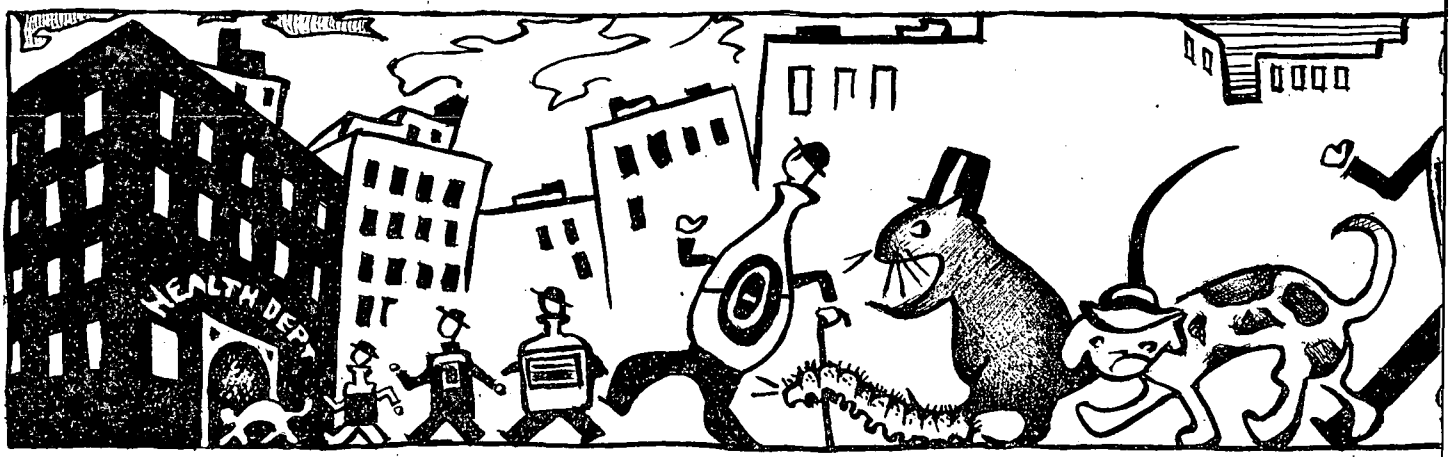

Dogs are not the only

two men had a heated argument over the matter. The next delivery of groceries contained this suspicious object about the size of the end of a man's thumb, dark brown in color and somewhat soft. There was something familiar about its appearance, but the bacteriologist couldn't place it either so he in turn "looked wise" and assured the gentleman that a report would be forthcoming as soon as the examination was completed. To look for explosives, poison, or dangerous bacteria? That was the question! Finally he cut into it to see what would happen. Result? A clean white laboratory coat was stained by a jet of golden butter coloring. Questioning brought out the fact that this same delivery of groceries also contained the first package of oleomargerine that his wife had ever purchased. The butter color was supposed to go with the 'margerine, but this particular capsule was so much larger than usual that it was not recognized.

IN this same sanitary district, the military post obtained its water supply from the plant of the nearby city and guards were posted about the reservoir and pumping plant by the military authorities. Something crawled down to the edge of the reservoir one dark night in violation of the guard's orders to halt and when he fired, it ran away. The post commander thereupon requested the sanitary zone commander to have the water in the reservoir examined for Asiatic cholera germs at once. Why Asiatic cholera? No one will ever know, but the bacteriologist had to "rise and shine" at 3:00 A.M. never-the-less. He will always believe that the guard rudely disturbed a dog that was trying to get a drink.

"Dr. Blank sent you a specimen from my neighbor Mrs. Jones. Please send me a copy of this report at once," requests Dame Rumor or Mrs. Grundy. She says and sometimes writes rather nasty things when she doesn't get the information she wants to broadcast for it is always open season on state employes. A fine old man, a gentleman and a doctor, became quite irritated and gave the laboratory the following generous piece of his mind when he was required to handle a matter in accordance with the best sanitary practices instead of the way that he wanted to do it.

"Dear Sir:

You know these things make you feel like saying "go to Hell."

Now I don't want to have to tell you to go to Hell again but I can.

Thank you, dang you.

Our "regulations" are never just red tape, but are aimed at the use of funds for the purpose for which they were appropriated by an infallible legislature, the most good for the most people or the protection of the laboratory. Don't think that "the protection of the laboratory" is just an idle phrase. It isn't! Although the practice had been followed for a number of years, there is now a rule in one state health department laboratory stating that reports shall be sent only to the physician who submitted the specimen and the not unusual incident of one of the two doctors in a small town being called to see a sick child is responsible for its presence on the books. This physician pronounced the case diphtheria and, being a health officer, put up a quarantine sign for which he was promptly discharged by the family. Doctor No. 2 was called and asserted that it was not a case of diphtheria. Doctor No. 1 then assumed his official authority and dignity and took a throat culture which he sent to the state laboratory. Since no diphtheria germs were found in this culture, he kept pretty quiet about the matter.

Now Doctor No. 2 just had to know the result of that examination and since he couldn't get any information out of Doctor No. 1 by direct or indirect means, he wired the laboratory for a report. Spring was in the air with its distractions and day dreams and the clerk overlooked the fact that the doctor who signed the telegram was not the one who sent in the specimen and she sent him the desired information. Thus the fat was kicked into the fire. The laboratory received two red-hot letters on several successive mornings and then a politician put in his nickel's worth. Finally the director had to assume the role of diplomat and travel half way across the state to calm the angry mob, for the whole village had taken sides in the scrap. That's how one regulation came into being and woe be unto the unwary clerk who ever lets it happen again.

PERHAPS the reader is wondering by this time just what a state health department laboratory does anyway. Their work is usually limited to such tests as are needed in the control of diphtheria, malaria, rabies, typhoid fever, undulant fever, tuberculosis, the venereal diseases, sanitary milk and water analysis, and similar troubles. The service is intended for the assistance of the physicians in the smaller communities which do not have local health department laboratories and, with a few exceptions such as water analyses and hydrophobia examinations, specimens are accepted only from physicians. This imposing list of misfortunes does not sound very interesting, but add a generous quantity of human nature in the raw and the result is guaranteed to keep the laboratory director from becoming bored with existence.

Given a victim of diphtheria who has recovered but who

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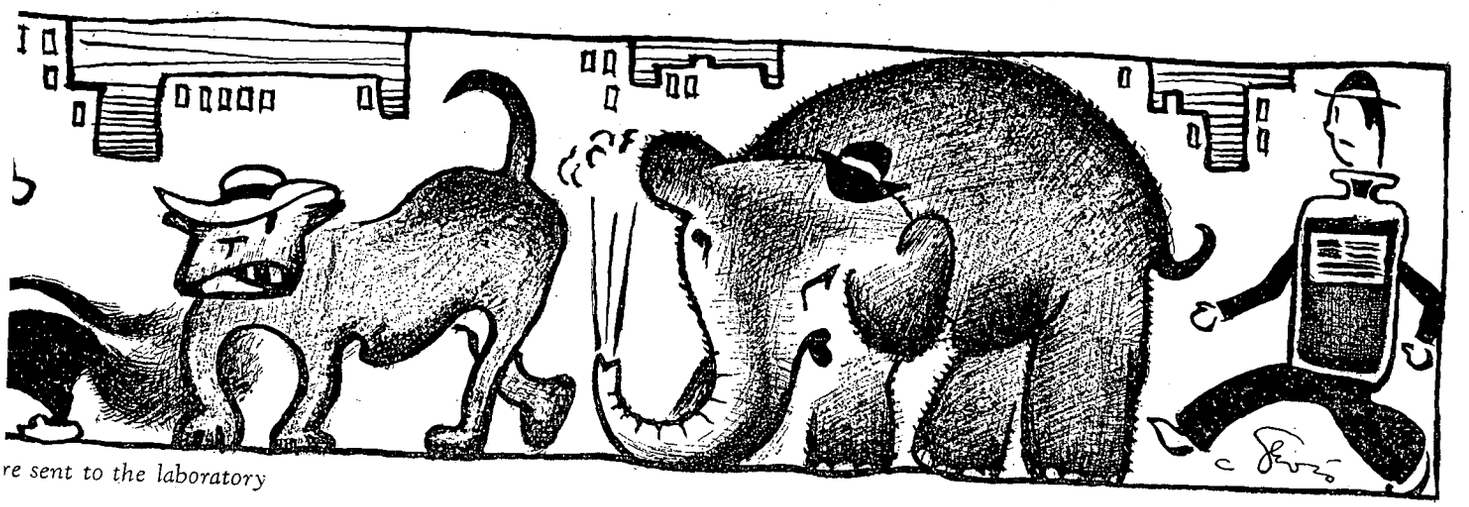

re sent to the laboratory

is still playing host to the little gangsters which caused the trouble, and the attitude of both patient and doctor will always be a puzzle to the bacteriologist. They usually decide that the man in the laboratory "has it in" for them or is getting some sort of fiendish delight out of keeping them in quarantine by reporting diphtheria germs in the cultures. The next thing to do is to devise a scheme which will prove conclusively that the bacteriologist is a close friend of his Satanic Majesty and the truth is not in him. Those who flatter themselves that they are receiving this special attention fail to realize that, in a laboratory of any size, no two successive cultures are apt to be examined by the same person and the last thing that a busy bacteriologist will pay any attention to is the name of the doctor or patient.

ONE physician in the Middle West will long remember the grief that the idea that he was being singled out for special attention brought him. On his first day of duty in a state laboratory, a bacteriologist examined a culture sent in by this doctor, found the germs of diphtheria and the clerk sent the telegraphic report that was requested. An hour later, an unusual telegram was received: "HA HA I HAVE IT ON YOU NOW STOP CULTURE WAS FROM DRUGGISTS THROAT NOT FROM SAM CRAWFORD AS STATED."

The meaning didn't soak in for a while, but a check of the records made it clear. A number of cultures from Sam Crawford had all contained diphtheria germs and the good doctor had decided that the laboratory was playing horse with him. So when he went to the drug store to get a culture tube, the druggist obligingly let him take a culture from his throat and Sam Crawford's name was put on it. As luck would have it, the druggist was a diphtheria carrier and Sam Crawford's culture showed diphtheria germs as usual, but the doctor was so sure that he had shown up the laboratory that he just had to gloat by sending that telegram.

Was the new bacteriologist mad? Oh, no! He was just out of the Army and still feeling hard-boiled; the time was late summer and the laboratory director and several members of the staff were on their vacations, so he had a fairly free hand. "QUARANTINE THE DRUGGIST" was the collect message that was soon on the wires and the local health officer and the state health commissioner were notified. The state health commissioner loved to display his authority and wrote the poor doctor that he was contemplating citing him to show cause why his license to practice medicine should not be revoked. The druggist? He asserted in unmistakable terms that the only thing that the doctor was fit for was to serve as principal at a first-class funeral and that he (the druggist) was sorely tempted to assist him in the preparation for such a role. This doctor did not use the laboratory again for quite a while, but when he resumed diplomatic relations, his attitude had changed considerably.

"Mad dog!" A cry that never fails to produce a panic and more work for the laboratory. Dogs are not the only animals that are sent to the laboratory for rabies examination. Everything from rats, squirrels and ferrets to mules and gentlemen cows are sure to put in an appearance sooner or later and one federal laboratory once had to rig up a special block and tackle to handle the examination of a rabid elephant.

A State Senate was once considering the State Board of Health appropriation and a solon elected on a tax reduction platform was just taking a shot at the chief bacteriologist's salary when the expressman delivered a defunct but not deodorized skunk to the Board of Health Laboratory. (Now the bacteriologist's salary was really nothing te get excited about, but it had no political significance and so was due for a cut on general principles.) The laboratory was located just opposite an entrance to the Senate gallery; the breeze was in just the right direction and soon the sanctity of the Senate was desecrated by a pungent and unmistakable odor and this odor was a very fair olfactory representation of the bacteriologist's estimate of the remarks of the gentleman who had the floor of the Senate.

A SERGEANT-AT-ARMS scurried around in search of the source and cause of the counter gas attack on the Senate. The laboratory staff was, of course, very apologetic, but a prompt report was a life or death matter to the victim who had been bitten, every moment was precious and there really was no way in which the culprit could be disposed of or suppressed until the examination was completed. The Senate adjourned, and when they again convened they were apparently convinced that the bacteriologist was earning his salary. Sequel: The quarters occupied by the laboratory became urgently needed for Senate committee rooms and the laboratory moved to a remote part of the building.

An outbreak of rabies involving a number of animals which develop the malady at intervals during a period of several weeks, can usually be depended on to produce the accusation that the laboratory is reporting evidences of rabies without examining the animals. Back of this perennial libel is the fact that it would be hard (*Continued on page* 640)

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Carrying Health to the Country

By C.-E. A. WINSLOW

Photos by the Cattaraugus County Health Demonstration of the Milbank Memorial Fund

DURING the past forty years, health has come to the cities. Sanitation and epidemiology (with regard to most communicable diseases) have become reasonably precise and effective; and comprehensive programs of education and preventive medical service have been developed for dealing with infant mortality, tuberculosis, the venereal diseases and, in the more progressive cities, even heart disease and cancer. It has been possible to formulate a clear and definite community health program with a schedule of budgets, personnel, and services which are accepted as essential and approximately adequate. Over two hundred cities are competing in the Health Conservation Contest of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Nearly all of them will show creditable achievement and many of them will approach closely to the standards of the American Public Health Association.

In these fruits of modern medical science the rural areas have had but little share. A hopeful beginning has been made through the initiative of the United States Public Health Service and the International Health Board (now the International Health Division) of the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1914 there were only three full-time county health services in the United States while today there are over five hundred. In a few states, such as Alabama, the Carolinas, Louisiana, Maryland, and Ohio, more than half the rural population resides in counties having such units.

Yet this is nothing more than a beginning. There are still some two thousand rural counties without any official local health organization whatsoever; and the vast majority of the county health units now in existence are little more than skeleton organizations ready to be filled out into really adequate health services. Of the 442 county health units for which I have been able to obtain data, 347 have appropriations of fifty cents per capita or less and only fourteen appropriations of over one dollar per capita. Of these same counties, 403 have a ratio of 10,000 or more people to each public health nurse, while in 298 of them the ratio is over 20,000. It would be conservative to say that only one fifth of the 2500 rural counties in the United States have even the beginning of a county health service and that in not over 1 per cent of those counties is there a health service comparable to that provided in the larger urban areas.

This is by no means a peculiarly American problem. At recent meetings of the Health Committee of the League of Nations the need for some machinery by which health service can be organized in rural areas has been vividly presented from every quarter of the globe; and promising experiments have been reported from Jugoslavia to China and from nearly every country in between. The major task for public health during the next twenty years is the extension of the benefits of modern sanitary science to the rural populations of the world.

The difficulties in the way are two-fold, administrative

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and financial. A certain minimum unit of population is essential for adequate and economical health service, a unit which may tentatively be set at about ten thousand persons; and this essential need introduces serious difficulties in countries like the United States where tradition has emphasized the autonomy of small local political areas. Far more serious are the economic limitations. Even in the United States and in normal prosperous times, the per capita annual income of 70 per cent of our rural counties falls below $500, and that of 30 per cent below $250, while only 2 per cent of our urban counties fall below $500. In nearly all the southern states and in the Dakotas the vast majority of the rural counties fall below the $250-income level and in the farming states of the Middle-west below the $500 level.

There is nothing to be gained by ignoring these fundamental difficulties or by minimizing their seriousness. On the other hand it is equally essential to face honestly the social needs of the rural areas.

What then are those needs? Does a rural county require an organized health service comparable to that recognized as necessary in a city? Can such a service be organized? What will it cost? What results will it achieve?

There is only one way to answer these questions, by experiment; and it is fortunate that in perhaps a dozen rural counties in the United States such experiments have been made. Through the aid furnished by state and federal authorities and by foundations or through unusual local financial resources, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., Clarke County, Ga., Los Angeles County, Calif., Marion County, Ore., Monmouth County, N. J., Rutherford County, Tenn., San Joaquin County, Calif., and perhaps half a dozen more have built up community health programs which go far toward answering the questions outlined above.

In the forefront of this little group of rural areas which have achieved a real health program, stands Cattaraugus County, New York. It is a fairly typical rural county of the north-eastern United States with a stable and homogeneous population of 72,000 persons, mainly of native stock, engaged chiefly in small-scale industry and dairying. It is relatively prosperous as compared with rural counties in the South and Middle-west, having an average per capita annual income of somewhat under $900 but with a substantial proportion of its population living at a low economic level. There has been for some years a group of public-spirited citizens in the county eager to secure adequate health service for its inhabitants. When in 1922 the Milbank Memorial Fund announced that it desired to cooperate with three typical communities of differing sizes in demonstrating "whether by intensive application of known health measures the extent of sickness in the United States can be further and materially diminished and mortality rates further and substantially reduced," Cattaraugus was a candidate and was ultimately selected as the rural demonstration area.

The Cattaraugus County Health Demonstration was launched in 1923, the State Charities Aid Association acting as contact agency for the Fund, and was closed so far as Milbank Fund participation in the demonstration as such was concerned, on December 31, 1930. It has, on the whole, been one of the most significant and instructive health demonstrations ever conducted. Its program and its results are illuminating in regard to the general problems of rural health service.[1]

THE basis of the demonstration was the organization of a county health department, adequately financed and staffed by full-time experts. The County Board of Health includes seven members, appointed by the County Board of Supervisors for overlapping six-year terms. The staff is headed by a county commissioner of health (at present, Dr. R. M. Atwater) assisted by a deputy commissioner. The work is organized under eight divisions: laboratory service, sanitation, communicable disease service, tuberculosis service, public health nursing service, statistical service, public health education, and venereal disease service, although the last two are at present without full-time directors. For a time there was a separate division of maternity and infant hygiene and this will be re-constituted in the near future.

Under a law passed in 1929 local boards of health in towns and small villages were abolished and the local health officers of the larger communities were made deputies of the county health commissioner. There are at present three such ex officio deputies (health officers of Olean, Salamanca, and Gowanda) and two appointed deputies for rural areas.

[1] The results of an extensive and intensive survey of the Cattaraugus demonstration by the writer with the aid of a corps of experts in various social and health fields will shortly be published by Macmillan under the title, Health on the Farm and in the Village.

Old and new—the nurse passes her patients

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The headquarters of the County Health Department are at Olean, at present in a suitable and attractive building presented to the County Tuberculosis and Public Health Association by a citizen to serve as a home for health and social agencies. The district-nursing service has six stations and two sub-stations in different parts of the county, each with nurses' office and conference room.

The statistical and communicable disease control services of the county are of high type and excellent progress has been made in diphtheria immunization, always a good test of health department efficiency. The laboratory service surpasses in quality and quantity not only the service available in other rural areas but even that offered in most cities. More than twice as many laboratory examinations are made as the American Public Health Association Appraisal Form requires, one examination each year for every four persons in the county. During a recent quarterly period 82 per cent of the physicians in the county made use of this laboratory. One of the specially outstanding results at Cattaraugus has perhaps been the demonstration that a laboratory service more extensive than that provided by most cities can be utilized in a rural area with great profit to the medical profession and to the public-health program as a whole.

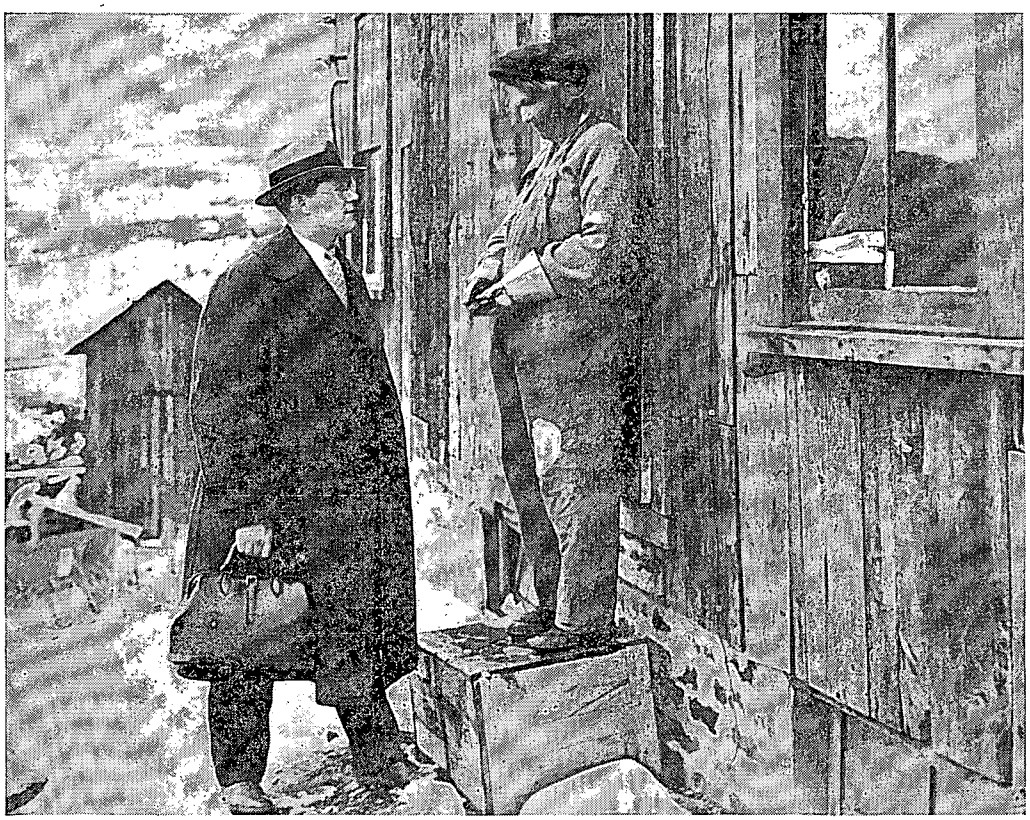
A second conspicuous achievement of the County Health Department has been the development of a program of tuberculosis control which is probably unique in a rural area. The county already had a sanatorium dating back to 1916 but the appointment of a director of the division of tuberculosis (acting also as director of the sanatorium) with a medical assistant and a staff of nurses at his disposal made it possible to develop case-finding machinery, clinic service, and nursing follow-up comparable to that of the best city health organizations. The system tended in the early days to "over-diagnosis" and was open to certain other criticisms of technique, but these defects have been remedied. During the seven years of the demonstration one person out of every eight inhabitants of the county has been examined at the tuberculosis clinics and last year out of 1394 persons examined 1099 were x-rayed, a remarkable record. At present the standard program of tuberculosis control, based on working out through the contacts of known cases, is being supplemented by an organized plan for the routine tuberculin-testing and x-raying of school children, the plan which presents greatest promise of complete control of this disease.

A THIRD outstanding achievement is the development of a public-health nursing service of unusual scope and extent. In 1930 the Nursing Bureau of the County Health Department had a staff of sixteen—a director, an educational director, two senior nurses, and twelve staff nurses. In addition there were nine other local public-health nurses in the county making a total of twenty-five, or one for slightly less than three thousand persons.

The nursing service of the health department is unique in rural areas as an example of a service quantitatively adequate conducted on a generalized basis in decentralized local areas and perfectly coordinated with the work of the health department as a whole. Generalized district supervision has not been as complete as might be desirable, but an extremely interesting experiment has been made in the temporary employment of specialized supervisors to develop a program and train the staff in tuberculosis work, maternity and infancy work and social hygiene, a method which seems full of promise for the upbuilding of a sound generalized program in a rural area. In the fields of tuberculosis, prenatal, infant, and preschool work the nursing visits in Cattaraugus County are from two to ten times the Appraisal Form standards for urban areas.

The Cattaraugus demonstration differed from the standard county health program in the relatively slight emphasis placed in its earlier phases upon environmental sanitation. Experience there has shown, however, that even in New York State such problems cannot safely be neglected. In 1929 a trained sanitary engineer was employed and excellent work is now being done in the improvement of public water supplies, sewage disposal and in increasing the pasteurization of milk.

Maternity and infancy work was conducted under a full-time director between 1926 and 1929 and a new director will shortly be appointed. Nursing service for pregnant women and for infants has been carried to a high degree of perfection with admirable results. Medical prenatal conferences have, however, never been well developed and medical conferences for infants have been inadequate in amount.



"A stable and homogeneous population of native stock"

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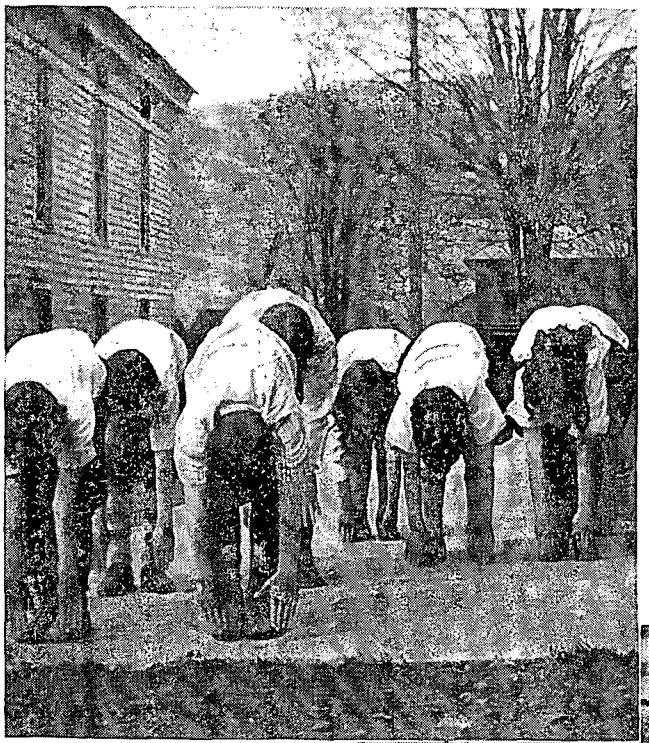

Veneral disease control is another field which has not yet been extensively cultivated in Cattaraugus. Part-time clinic service has been provided and a special nursing supervisor was employed in 1925-27 but at no time has a full program been worked out. It is planned in the immediate future to develop such a program, both in the fields of maternity and infancy and of social hygiene, making extensive use of the private physicians in carrying it out.

The New York State law provides for school health service under boards of education but a very satisfactory working arrangement has been made by which the 293 schools of the county (266 of them rural and 228 one-room schools) are grouped into a single school health service under Dr. C. A. Greenleaf as director. The actual medical inspection of the children is done by part-time local physicians, none too well, but the general procedure is established and the reports collected and analyzed in Dr. Greenleaf's office. The nursing work is done by the county nurses in the rural areas while special nurses and oral hygienists are provided by the urban areas. Health education in the schools has not been emphasized but will be developed on a comprehensive scale in the near future.

The net result of the health program is shown by a rise in score on the Appraisal Form of the American Public Health Association from 41 per cent in 1923 to 81 per cent in 1929. This is of course a record comparable to that made by the best urban areas. In vital statistics, tuberculosis, pre-school work, laboratory service, and popular health instruction the score is practically a perfect one; in communicable disease and school hygiene the score is between 80 and 90 per cent; for prenatal and infant work the score is in the seventies; for venereal disease work and sanitation still in the sixties.

So far as effects upon the death rate are concerned, the period which has elapsed since 1923 is too short for the effects of a public-health program to be fully registered. Nevertheless, even in seven years certain very definite results have been brought about which are capable of statistical demonstration. The mortality rates for diphtheria, tuberculosis and diseases of infancy have been reduced sharply and suddenly, to a degree involving a deviation from previous trends so pronounced as to be far beyond any reasonable influence of chance. It may be conservatively concluded that there has resulted from the demonstration program an annual saving of five lives by reduction in diphtheria, of fourteen lives by reduction in tuberculosis and of twenty lives by reduction in infant mortality, equivalent to a reduction in economic loss to the community of $300,000 a year, or nearly double the entire yearly cost of the health program. (*Continued on p.* 637)

Health education in a country school (top). The doctor calls—and smiles (center). In a dairy country the farm boys' pet is a "calico" cow (bottom)

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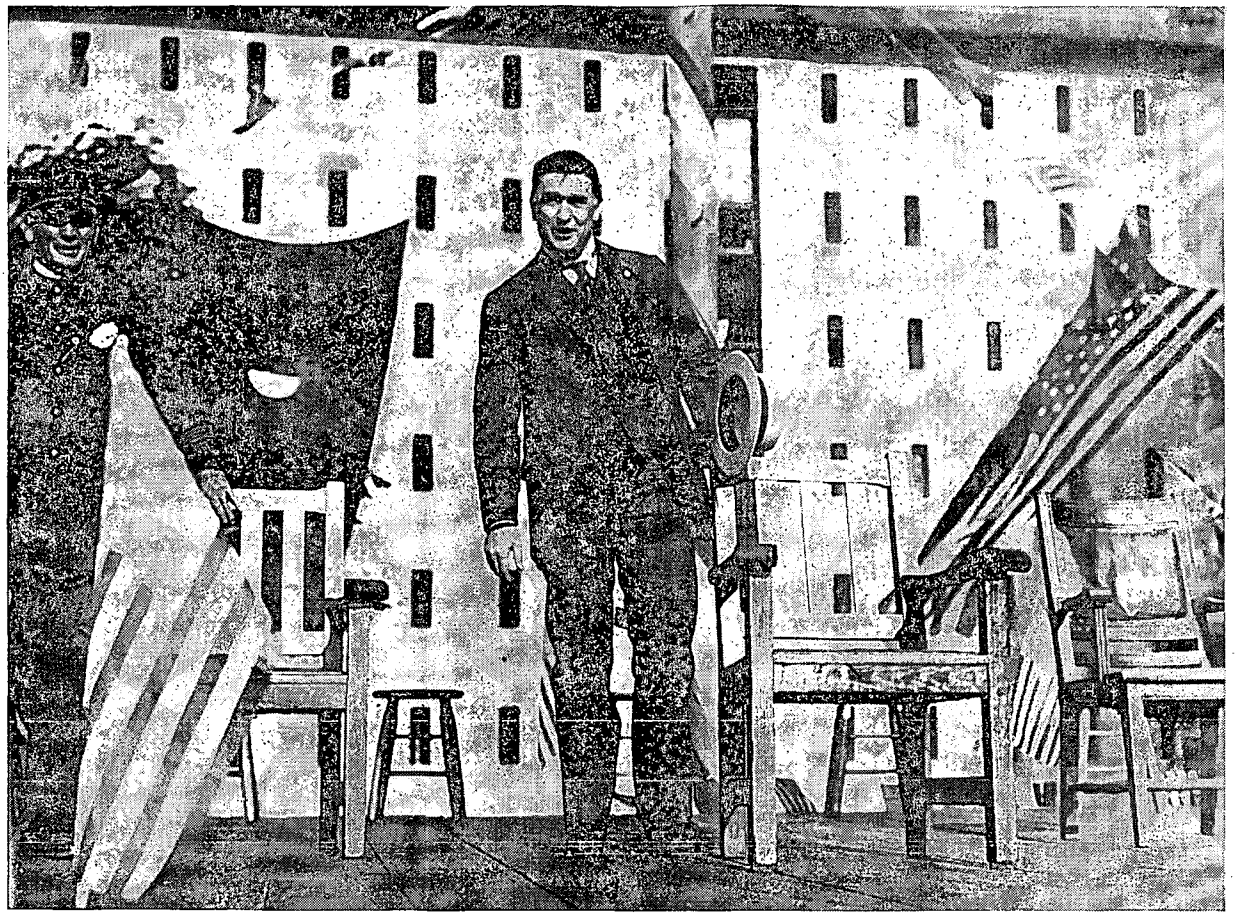

Back at Sing Sing—"such a day of celebration has never been seen in any prison"

The Ordeal of Thomas Mott Osborne

By FRANK TANNENBAUM

THE indictment of Thomas Mott Osborne stirred the State of New York from end to end. It is doubtful whether a personal attack upon any public officer had ever before awakened so much popular protest as this persecution of the warden of Sing Sing. Here was a man rich in worldly goods, rich in experience, honored in his own community, widely traveled, cultured, a gifted musician, a political leader of unblemished reputation, who had accepted a difficult—aye, an impossible task—of reforming, and had succeeded in converting "the worst prison in the country" into a community that laid open the way to a complete reconsideration of the method of penal administration. His only compensation the opportunity to serve, his only request the privilege of continuing in the service of the state for the purpose of "converting" the hardened to new ways of living and thinking,—and for that he was attacked, abused, and now indicted and threatened with a prison sentence.

The answer to the indictment was a thousand sermons in the churches of the state, a thousand indignant editorials and protesting letters in the newspapers. President Charles W. Eliot, who had known Osborne since he went to Harvard as a freshman, wrote to The New York Times:

> As I have known Osborne intimately for thiry years, and have been interested in prison management for more than that period, I desire to give public testimony concerning Mr. Osborne and his work. He is an upright, conscientious, pure, and honorable man, whose nature has carried him with ardor into several forms of philanthropic work, in all of which he manifested strong emotion, quick sympathies, and an intense desire to be of service to his fellow men. . . .
>
> The reforms lately introduced in the discipline of Sing Sing are in harmony with educational reforms which have been gradually effected in American schools and colleges during the last forty years, and also with the methods of scientific philanthropy. . . . A man of his temperament suffers severely in body and soul from unreasonable criticism, calumny, and perverse testimony, and needs the cordial expression of public confidence and approval to support him in his daily work.

Perhaps even more significant were a series of resolutions by the Kings County Grand Jury which came on an unexpected visit to Sing Sing, roamed over the place, talked freely with everyone and bespoke for Osborne "the hearty

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cooperation of all well-meaning citizens in this state."

About two weeks after the indictment was handed down, Carnegie Hall was jammed by 3500 people who came to attend a meeting called by a committee of 250 of the most prominent citizens of New York City. The New York Tribune reports:

On the platform was the sort of company which might gather to honor a visiting Mogul—doctors, lawyers, clergymen, bankers, brokers, retired capitalists, and active philanthropists . . . while in the audience pickpockets rubbed elbows with women of another stratum, a-glitter with diamonds, and burglars were sleeve to sleeve with burghers whose possessions at another time might have been of engrossing professional interest to them.

All the speeches echoed not only their faith in Osborne personally, but in the value of the work he was doing. The most significant was made by Felix Adler:

As I stand before you tonight I realize that I have spoken in this hall for seventeen years on subjects connected with the ethical life of the individual and the community. But I do not believe that I have ever spoken, either here or elsewhere, on a matter which so deeply concerns the ethical life of the community and the individual as that which has brought this splendid audience here tonight. . . . Mr. Osborne's figure is significant, not because he is being attacked . . . but because he stands today as the representative of a great redemptive movement. . . . For Mr. Osborne is not only redeeming the prisoner—that is the obvious view of it—he is trying to redeem us.

Dr. Adler stirred the audience to its depth. He finished by saying that whatever might happen to Osborne, "the spirit of Tom Brown [Osborne's name among the prisoners], like that of John Brown, will go marching on until the last vestige of the old system shall be effaced from this fair earth. . . ."

The head of the Naval Prison and his grandson

Of great importance was the address of Judge Wadhams, who, as a judge of the Court of General Sessions, had sent many men to Sing Sing. He pointed out that there had been no riots in Sing Sing, and yet there had been freedom within the walls, that insanity had been reduced, narcotics practically eliminated, vice reduced. Then he told of being at a dinner where "I sat with a burglar on my left and a pickpocket on my right and a forger across the table. But they had changed their mode of life. Was there ever such a scene before? Ex-convicts gathering around their warden at a dinner given to him to demonstrate that they were making good."

This meeting did much to clear the air and to draw the battle lines between the things that Osborne stood for and the underhand knavery implicit in the attack upon him. But even more interesting was a second meeting engineered and addressed by ex-convicts, gathered for the purpose of defending the warden under indictment, as one of the counts read, because "he lost their respect." The Brooklyn Daily Eagle is well worth quoting:

The Osborne meeting at Carnegie Hall last night was unique in the history of the country. On the stage sat a dozen to twenty ex-convicts, and about them about twice as many men and women more or less prominent in city life and interested in prison reform. An ex-convict presided and six or eight convicts spoke, giving their prison records without compunction and reciting their experiences both in prison and in various juvenile and reformatory institutions.

Among these men with from two to six sentences behind them, there was not one over thirty and most of them seemed to be under twenty-five. All of them were clear-eyed and clean-faced, the hangdog look had dropped from them, and they told their stories simply and without embarrassment. Although some of them lacked the voice needed for the big hall, all of them were awkward in gesture and movement and several of them were defective in grammar, there was no mistaking what they meant, and they created a striking impression of the sincerity of their efforts to "run straight." . . .

BETWEEN the first and second Carnegie Hall meetings, Jack Dropper was brought to trial. If convicted, he was liable to a sentence of forty years. But more important was the fact that if he were convicted the fear of a similar fate might force others of the twenty-one indicted to accept immunity in exchange for perjury. That was something that was in everybody's mind. Men are but men, and forty years is a long time. But apart from that, the conviction of this man would weaken the Osborne defense and, from the district attorney's point of view, would have a good influence upon public opinion. It was generally recognized that it was Osborne who was being tried.

The attorney for Dropper was supplied by Osborne's friends and the fight was on. District Attorney Weeks placed on the stand his half dozen perverts and "high-brow" prisoners who poured out before the open court a story of filth that proved nauseating to all decent people. When these witnesses fell into the hands of the defense attorney, George Gordon Battle, their path was hard indeed. By that time the defense had secured a copy of the testimony before the grand jury and knew the type of witness it would have to deal with. By that time it also knew something of the methods that had been employed in securing this testimony.

The defense succeeded in bringing out that these men had been promised immunity for their crimes in return for the testimony they were now giving. It succeeded in proving the chief witnesses liars. But the dramatic moment of the trial came when the defense placed Dropper himself on the stand. That was a bold thing to do. The district attorney was merciless and sarcastic, and Dropper was only considered a poor "slob."

Such a witness had rarely been seen in any court. The district attorney became the defendant. When he asked questions, Dropper would appeal to the jury on the ground that he was being "framed up." When the district attorney would say, "Don't you remember?" Dropper would turn to him and say, "Yes, then you turned around and told me, 'If you make a statement against the warden we won't indict you. . . .' Then I says: 'I won't do it, because it ain't

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true.' Then Mr. Ferris says: 'Oh send him back, send him back, we don't want him. He is no good, we can't get nothin' out of him,'" and so on all through the cross-examination. The district attorney tried this way and that but it always ended with Dropper playing the part of accuser and the district attorney defending himself.

The climax came when Dropper pointed an accusing finger at him and said: "Yes, that was the last time when I told you that before we go through with this thing we would have you down at Sing Sing carrying your bucket yourself." In summing up, the district attorney said: "If you acquit this man you will show that you disapprove the efforts of the district attorney." That is just what the jury chose to do. It brought in a verdict of not guilty.

The freeing of Dropper and the removal of Superintendent Riley, which had occurred about the same time because of an attempt to transfer from Sing Sing every officer of the Mutual Welfare League as well as every servant in acting Warden Kirchwey's house, caused many of the men who had helped in the preparation of the conspiracy to feel that they were on the wrong band-wagon. So, within a short time, sworn affidavits from practically all of the actors in the drama were in the hands of Osborne's attorneys. Finally, after much delay by the district attorney and much bitter acrimony, Osborne went on trial on the perjury count on March 13, 1916.

The courtroom was crowded with Osborne's friends from far and near. Many of them had come from the city of Auburn to testify to his good character, others because they were interested in the cause he represented, and in the back of the courtroom were a number of ex-prisoners come to witness the defense of their beloved friend. The jury was quickly selected. The presiding justice kept the district attorney to the matter in hand. When the district attorney asked a prospective juror whether he had formed an opinion on the merits of the controvery Judge Tompkins broke in, saying: "Let us have it understood at the outset that this law-suit involves only the question of the defendant's guilt or innocence of the charge of perjury. Nothing else is involved and let us eliminate everything but that."

THE question at issue was whether Osborne had said that "There are no sodomy cases before the prison court," or, as the prosecution contended, that he had said, "There are no sodomy cases before the prison." This led to a lengthy and searing examination of the stenographer who had accompanied Dr. Diedling on his investigating trip to Sing Sing. The other witnesses fared no better, and Dr. Diedling himself, who was the chief witness, was badly discredited as the defense dug up some skeletons in the doctor's closet. To show perjury it was necessary to prove that Osborne had tried to deceive Dr. Diedling. But it was shown in court that Dr. Diedling knew all about the cases, that Osborne knew that he knew, as he had been present when the information was given to Dr. Diedling. So it was clear that when Osborne refused to testify to information Dr. Diedling already had, he was merely keeping a promise not to reveal a confidence. At the conclusion of the prosecution's testimony, the defense attorneys made a motion for dismissal of the charge. The court took the matter under advisement.

When court convened next day, the judge began to read his opinion on the motion to dismiss the case. The first sentence showed which way the wind was blowing. "To make out a crime of perjury it must appear that false testimony was knowingly and willingly given by the defendant, under oath, covering material matter under investigation in a judicial or other proceeding authorized by law. Two of these elements are missing in this case." The first of these missing elements was the fact that there could be no willful intent to deceive because, "Dr. Diedling knew, and the defendant knew that he knew there had been sodomy cases in the prison. . . . The defendant's refusal to answer . . . was to keep good promises he had made to the men . . . that he would go to jail rather than betray their confidence." The second missing element was the fact that the investigation had not been authorized by the State Prison Commission and that therefore, "Dr. Diedling had no authority to administer a valid oath to the defendant, and for any statement made at the time the defendant cannot be held for the crime of perjury."

The motion was granted and the judge directed a verdict of dismissal. The crowd in the courtroom burst into cheers.

LATER that evening Osborne gave out a statement to the press in which he said that the outcome merely proved what he had always contended, that it was a case of persecution and not prosecution, and reiterated that Sing Sing Prison could not be run from Albany or White Plains, but must be run by the warden of Sing Sing, who must be allowed discretion in handling the disciplinary problems that arise, according to his best judgment. He also said that the other charges against him would be pushed to trial as speedily as possible in spite of the obvious attempt at delay on the part of the district attorney. "The fight I am making is the public's fight—a fight for honesty and decency in public life and the guarantee to the honest man who takes office that his mere honesty shall not result in attempts to destroy his good name." The outcome was greeted with enthusiasm by the press.

Now began a series of maneuvers to force the district attorney to go to trial with the other indictments. His witnesses were slipping away from him. The failure of the Osborne case, the failure of the Dropper prosecution, the dismissal of the superintendent of prisons, all led the wrong way from the one which they had been led to expect. The promises of immunity and of reward were both doubtful, and the fear of perjury was after all a real possibility when faced with an open court trial in the hands of a competent lawyer for the defense.

There were various motions, moves, and counter moves, until there was little left of the original indictment. But the district attorney would not bring it to trial, and it was only after his successor took office that the charge was finally withdrawn. That also happened with the indictments against the remaining twenty men who had been charged with immorality. The new district attorney withdrew the charges against them on the ground that they had already been punished within the prison—just the position that Osborne had taken originally. And so the conspiracy ended.

Osborne fortunately had money, friends, and personal influence in the state. Had he been less blessed with good fortune he might have lost the case and with it his name and his power for good in the community. One must always marvel not at his powers of resistance in the face of relentless persecution, not at his cheerfulness and confidence through the bitter hours of trial and (*Continued on page* 623)

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What Sort of Magnet?

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

SOMETIMES when I drop a needle or a tack, and unable to find it have visions of inadvertent discovery subsequently with bare feet, I pass a magnet over the floor. Awhile ago I watched a great thing at the business-end of a derrick, dropping down into a pile of junk. By the throwing of a switch it instantly became a magnet; lifted out by the derrick it brought away a mass of clinging stuff. Nothing but metal clung to it. You can't fool a magnet about the characteristics of the material in its vicinity.

"I expect Judgment Day will be like that," I said to the man who was showing me.

"Maybe," he said. "Everything will depend upon the standard of selection. What sort of a magnet. . . ."

Neither of us said anything more about it; but I fancied him thinking, as I was, of a vast Thing thrust down among the masses of humanity—drawing unto Itself unerringly those, and those only, who had "It." What would be the "It"?

About one thing I found myself pretty sure—it wouldn't be any of the "Its" that matter largely in the present-day life of man, anywhere in the world. One thinks of that picture of the judgment drawn by Jesus of Nazareth—"Come, ye blessed . . . inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these. . . ." Or, as James put it, "Pure religion and undefiled is this. . . ." Or the test of the Prophet Micah, "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly." All over the world men are struggling and always have struggled for mastery in order to enforce their own standards upon other people. The motives are vastly mixed and usually cloaked under pious pretexts of religion, patriotism, passion for human welfare, or whatnot. Fascism in Italy and Sovietism in Russia are perfect examples, fruit of the same tree.

WE have it in our own country. People of all sorts of ideas from hundred-per-cent-Americanism and reaction generally to crude force-radicalism; from the prohibitionist to the meanest *agent-provocateur* of the "anti-vice" crusader, they all want to compel other people to conform to some idea of their own, however motivated. Participating recently in a more or less portentous conference about what college students ought to do and learn, I was impressed afresh by that irrepressible and almost universal impulse to tell other people how to behave—to establish your own notions as the universal standards. Even those who dissented vigorously to any proposals to prescribe "irreducible minima" of scholarly requirement for entrance or graduation were quick with assurance that free choices would lead more surely to the goal—a Pattern. These oncoming youngsters must anyway have, or avoid, the experiences that their elders had, or failed to have, in order that they may come forth at the end thus-and-so. As if anybody knew what the "finished product" of humanity ought to be! As if anybody knew what kind of folk would cling to the Great Magnet.

"I don't see how all these Methodists and Baptists and Episcopalians can expect to be happy in Heaven," mused a little girl that I knew, "since God is a Presbyterian." There was a note of sincere pity in it, of human kindliness, along with the smug self-righteousness and the assurance that there must be something fundamentally wrong with those who espouse another faith.

We are always dipping in our little magnets, charged to attract only those whom we declare to be among the elect. This fact underlies all the bitterness ensuing upon the treaty of Versailles. But for the imaginary political lines that sever jurisdictions you could not tell when you passed over the "Polish Corridor." Sitting on a bench in a little town in Czechoslovakia, I was told that a low bluff in front of me, to the top of which with my thumb I could have flipped a peanut, was in Poland. In another place there was pointed out to me a new imaginary line dividing Czechoslovakia from Hungary, over which in former times before that line existed peasants (then called Austrian) used to go for seasonal agricultural labor. Now the job is in a foreign country. Thousands of Tyrolese, naturally German, have been compelled to change their family names and abandon their mother-tongue under the delusion that thus they may become more securely Italian. In Macedonia the Jugoslavs threaten and punish and bribe school children to spy and tattle upon their Bulgarian parents. In Alsace-Lorraine hordes of naturally German folk are required to become French. Here in America we have innumerable efforts and proposals of schemes and compulsions to obliterate the old allegiances of our foreign-born neighbors. And so on, all over the world. It always has been so. Efforts to force spiritual streams to flow uphill.

However brutal the forms it takes, because custodians of power usually have obtained it by force and know no better technique, at bottom it is not malicious. They think they are serving a good cause and justify the means by reference to their pious ends. The French and Italians and Jugoslavs sincerely believe that they are better, *per se,* than other peoples. There is no spiritual arrogance surpassing that of the Englishman about being English. Our War of 1812 largely rooted in that obsession—there was no way in which an English subject could become anything else. The Germans really believed that by conquering the world and spreading their *Kultur* from Berlin to Bagdad and afar to all horizons they would be doing a favor to all humanity. We of the United States, ignoring—largely oblivious of—the fact that as regards political experience our wisdom-teeth are still buried deep in our youthful gums, are righteously indignant at any suggestion that the ultimate goal of humanity is not to become like us, whatever that may mean!

All this is village stuff; psychology of the primitive tribal kraal. Stewart Edward White once asked his African gun-bearer, a man of keen intelligence, whether he sincerely believed that it was better to be black than white. To which Memba Sasa replied:

"Your pardon, Sahib; but surely I do think so. Besides, you are not white—only a kind of *pink.*"

The cultivated Chinese out of sage ancient eyes look upon us of the West with amusement deeply tinged with contempt. One such in Geneva said to me: "We are trying to be patient while you learn by experience what China learned ages ago.

ALL depends upon what sort of magnet you use; with what current of intention and expectation charged. For the magnet both attracts and repels. There is also the negatively charged. And often seemingly small things drawn out by the right sort of induction turn out to be nuggets assaying preciously. Such of recent occurrence was what looks like the peace-

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ful and relatively permanent settlement by the League of Nations Council of the menacing dispute between Germany and Poland about the treatment of the German minority residents of the part of Upper Silesia now Polish. The report which the Council adopted was drawn up by the Japanese member. The affair, out of one of the many sore spots created by the Versailles Treaty, was directly menacing to the peace of Europe; but the significance of the settlement is more far-reaching, in that it registers and emphasizes the inescapable responsibility of the League for enforcement of the multilateral treaties requiring the protection of minorities. The repercussions of that settlement will ring definitely in the ears of Italy and France and Jugoslavia. The Covenant of the League of Nations is a magnet, charged with the world's sense of fair play. It is a new thing in international relationships. It tests the quality of everything within its range.

Despite all of our efforts to keep beyond its reach, it finds us out. The United States assumed a kind of suzerainty over Liberia. I suspect some grim amusement in Geneva when a commission of the League disclosed an officially-permitted if not officially sponsored slave-trade in Liberia right under our suzerain nose. So one of our own more or less private affairs comes within reach of the magnet and comes out a screaming scandal. We have acknowledged our measure of responsibility; it looks as if something might be done about it. Secretary Stimson, of our Department of State, shows no disposition to tell the League to mind its own business. We are by way of having a self-accepted "mandate" over that African "republic." And we are answering to world public opinion, vocal through the League of Nations.

Incidentally this episode has illuminated the fact that slavery, in all the horrid implications of the word, which we had smugly thought abolished forever, exists in many parts of the world, under many flags; that as of old villages are ravaged, human beings kidnapped, abused, massacred. Slave raiding, trading and owning, together with border-line conditions of involuntary servitude under various names and systems, head up in a score of regions. Among them the League report enumerates specifically Abyssinia, Algeria, China, Egypt, Eritrea, the Hedjaz, Kufra, Liberia, Morocco, Rio de Oro, East Sahara, West Sahara, British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, the Soudan and Southern Tripoli.

In this stirring up of a desperately bad business in the world a great share of credit goes to Raymond Leslie Buell, head of the research department of the Foreign Policy Association. The prolific and incessant output over his name, covering with amazing promptitude many aspects of international relationship and activity, makes one suspect that there must be a half-dozen of him! To his really monumental study, The Native Problem in Africa, is largely due the turning of the light upon this whole subject. It is likely, too, that his later synthesis of the facts about Haiti played a great part in such straightening out as there has been of our relations with that disturbed neighbor. Bad conditions cannot bear the light and Buell stands high among operators of the searchlight.

AS I write this, there is beginning at the University of Florida, in connection with the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, a first meeting of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs intended to develop "a definite inter-American educational program which will increase understanding and cooperation in the Western Hemisphere." It gains a peculiar significance from the special advantages of the University of Florida for the study of sub-tropical agriculture, which must play a large part in the advancement of the Latin-American countries—if and when they can divert their attention from political uproar to economic interests. The United States Department of Agriculture has several distinguished representatives at this conference. It is a welcome thing to see our neighborhood turning its attention from war to work. As President Morgan of Antioch College said recently:

> It is not that war is inconvenient, painful, expensive or frightful. All this could be endured with fortitude if the end were justified. Men of purpose hate war because it requires that lives trained to constructive ends and with significant and far-seeing plans to be executed, are snatched out of their setting and used as relatively unimportant raw material to be consumed in a game that in itself is unnecessary, arbitrary, childish, and undiscriminating. . . . War is good only for men without design or purpose for their lives.

Hitherto much of the effort toward better relationships among the nations of the Western Hemisphere has taken the form of talk—about friendship, common interests, how to keep from going to war and what to do about it if war should "happen." All fair-sounding enough but amounting to just about as much as a flight of pretty fireworks. The same may be said of most of the peace propaganda that goes on. It is well enough, no doubt, to have great meetings to talk about the cause and cure of war, and efforts to cut down expenditure for armament which is obsolete as soon as it is finished if not before. I cannot myself get excited about these powwows. The cure for war consists in finding other and more useful things to do; in being too busy to bother about the fool thing. It will become automatically less likely when the Americas occupy themselves with the task of finding ways to exploit their amazing resources; when they sit down to talk not about how to avoid killing each other but about how to make two fruits grow where before grew only one. If I found in the program of the Florida University Institute of Inter-American Affairs a lot of hot air about how lovely it is for brethren to dwell together in unity, or about the desirability of having only two revolvers in the house instead of three, I should not have mentioned the program at all but should have tossed it into the waste-basket with the other bunk that clogs my mail. But I find that they are discussing instead such things as these:

> The Place of Agricultural Education in the Development of Inter-American Understanding and Good Will;
>
> The Purpose of Agricultural Experiment Stations and Agricultural Extension Work in the Development of Understanding and Cooperation;
>
> The Nature and Scope of Research Work to be Carried on by the Institute to Increase Understanding in the Western Hemisphere.

And I heave me a great sigh of relief. The best way to keep boys from fighting is to give them something to do, something of mutual interest whose worth-whileness requires no argument and needs no platitudes.

You don't have to explain to the Magnet what sort of stuff it is to pull out of the pile, nor to the stuff which pieces of it are to come out. It doesn't do any good to paint the garbage in the pile so that it will look like metal.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays, and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

In Search of a Villain

ON THE SPOT, *by Edgar Wallace. The Forrest Theater.*
ONCE IN A LIFETIME, *by Moss Hart and George S. Kaufman. Music Box Theater.*
FIVE STAR FINAL, *by Louis Weitzenkorn. The Cort Theater.*
AL CAPONE, *by Fred D. Pasley. Ives Washburn. 355 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

"SATIRE," declares the dictionary, "is a kind of literature in which vice and folly are held up to ridicule." The times are rotten ripe for *that*. But if you look for satire in the Broadway theater you will find melodrama and burlesque. On the Spot is a spoof of the Chicago feudal system of bootleg barons, with an *obbligato* of blood and mistresses, done with a good deal of English malice by Edgar Wallace. Once in a Lifetime pictures Moronia in Hollywood with poison wit, but the audience finds it gay. The movie magnate teaching his puppets to talk is as unreal as the wops wha hae wi' Wallace bled. Five Star Final is true and bitter: the record of a tabloid newspaper woman-hunt that ruins three lives and turns an editor with a conscience on to the street because forsooth the publisher wants "circulation." Mr. Weitzenkorn has courage (he quit the tabloid game himself) and inside knowledge. But Broadway has made him put his moral into melodrama; it is tarred with the brush he hates. Instead of satire, we have three evenings of good theater. Social criticism deliquesces into razzing, spine-chills, and hokum.

But what an opportunity! Certainly we need the cinema racket, the tabloid racket, the bootleg racket, whether vice or folly, held up to ridicule and scorn. Kaufman and Weitzenkorn were in earnest, for anger shines through their theatrical gauze. What blunts their barbs? They never found their villains. True, they picture evil men—cold, avaricious, brutal panders for money, stripped of glamor or dignity. That is a service. But they do not cut deep enough. Yet the villain stared them in the face, literally, and it was the same villain in each play. Let us pursue this villain.

These are mob plays—without the mob. No baying crowd rushes on or off. There are no back-stage alarums. But an invisible mob marches through them in battalions . . . the citizenry of the United States who want the things these plays are rooted in. Some want alcohol, so gunmen overshadow the law. Some want sensation by proxy, and so tabloids buy and steal and imagine. Some want romance and adventure, and so the screen unrolls its myths. The obvious villains are but entrepreneurs for these ultimate consumers. Authors in search of a play could write bright things on other hungers of the mob, speed in machines, say, or sports. Dean Swift would have made real satire of Tom Thumb Golf.

A drawing by Arthur Szyk, the Polish-Jewish illuminator, for The Last Days of Shylock, by Ludwig Lewisohn. Mr. Lewisohn begins his story of Shylock where Shakespeare left him, defeated and despised, and brings him through the humiliations of his memories, of his forced apostasy, his unsuccessful flight from the injustice of the world to a status of inner peace—"a corner of light"—and a gentle flickering out of life in the arms of Jessica and her sons. (The Last Days of Shylock, by Ludwig Lewisohn, Harpers. 222 pp. $2.50.)

As for that, why not a little satire on the theater mob? Aristophanes did something along that line. Satire by the stage of the tabloid and talkie savors a little of commercial jealousy: all have box-offices. That audience mob stared our authors in the face and coerced them in to jazzing their criticism into spoofing, their villains into clowns, their irony into comic relief. They dare not treat their perilous stuff seriously. They soften the blow and the social evidence becomes obscure. Tony Perelli, gunman, is a romantic who plays the organ. The author who comes to Hollywood to lend art to the cinema and is mislaid unrecognized for six months is highly amusing, but dim as a symbol. The speakeasy, profanity, sex appeal in Five Star Final may be realism, but they sacrifice the aloofness that satire demands. We prefer less swearing, more reverence. I take it that satire has to have a standard or ideal, a belief in something better in order to brand and kill the worse. The ideal of our authors is too timid for presentation. But would the audience recognize an ideal? Here they are looking in the mirror and they do not even recognize themselves.

But we must not stop at the old indictment: "It's the public's fault. They get what they want." Why do they want what they want? So tally-ho after the elusive villain!

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Clearly, as these plays reveal, they all want one thing—escape. They hunger for laughter, thrills, the "good time"—some emotion (albeit alcoholic or second-hand), some forgetfulness of the drab monotone of days. They do not hunger especially after viciousness or inanity, for they are quite willing to take travel-tales or baseball. Mr. Weitzenkorn hints at this hunger in his swift glimpses of the tabloid audience reading about the woman-hunt. There are two girls in a *bagnio,* a Negro and his wife in the kitchen. These are the low level, but lots of respectable people enjoy vicarious thrills.

Indeed if this hunger be the villain, he is old as the hills and as universal as real hunger. The taste is not novel in our age. Old Homer smote his blooming lyre about the blood and gold and lust and made immortal literature. The people have always had their ballad-singers, their tale-tellers in the bazar, their Arabian Nights and penny-dreadfuls. The village gossip was a kind of tabloid vendor. The literature of wonder is a part of both religion and chivalry. The novel thing now is that the people (influenced by science and machines and education) cannot be happy with just myths of folk-lore. They want true stories: Lindbergh to fly to Paris, not the cow to jump over the moon. They must, for vicarious escape, identify themselves with real people and not some poet's imaginary hero or lover. That explains, I think, the True Story and I Confess appeal, and likewise the decay of fantasy and lyric art. There are too many brass tacks in the land; also true fairy-tales, vide, the airplane and radio. Daedalus and Mercury were once myths. Today they are real. Finally, the hard surface realism of these plays shows how even when you spoof or razz, you must make your stage-set practical.

We are all villains by this ordeal. Who has no hunger for escape? But the rest of us take our escape in art, music, culture, the World Court: all of which imply some preparation and a stake in life that our friends, the people, have missed. We escape with Gaugin, Ravel, Proust or Sir James Jeans, yet if the avenues seem broad and lovely, the urge remains the same. They *are* avenues, anodynes, less strong than the popular ones, but then the people have been calloused a bit by life itself. They take strong stuff. Besides, what can measure the outcome of either? I suspect music is as vast an inspirer of sins as the conventional didoes of the silver screen—and surely the voice of the talkie siren never launched a thousand ships, or hardly ever. The difference may be one of taste, not morals.

We have one last clue. What makes the hunger that seeks the escape that people think they find in gin, news-print, film? The Machine Age, of course! It's held guilty of most things. It does cramp us, away from the earth, in masses where regimentation must rule; it provides us with piffling jobs; and then taunts us with machine-made recreations. Leisure without joy is its by-product. Well, we seem to be coming out at a familiar crossroad and have heard all this before. Rural folk like talkies and awful tales and cider—and they are not cramped and regimented. Or are they? One indictment against urban mechanized life seems to hold: you find tabloids in certain types of industrial cities and mostly along the Atlantic seaboard. They do not flourish in the South or West. There may indeed be a subway audience. Yet there were no subways in Venice or Bagdad.

The villain seems to be the human race. It is not happy without romance, dreams, and wonders. That is why the people take these bitter satires (for at bottom they are bitter and true) and twist them into fairy-tales. They are queer stuff, with lots of fungoid parasites, but they seem to answer an ancient universal need.

BUT meanwhile these pseudo-satires leave their trace. The audiences do have their evening of good theater but they may also carry off reflex notions. One is unfortunately simply a fresh cynicism. The gunman corrupts politics; the cinema king corrupts artists; the publisher corrupts editors. "Oh well, everybody's doing it . . . These are just rackets . . . I should worry." They do not get a true picture such, for example, as they can get in Pasley's journalistic study of Capone and Chicago's gangs. This is a clear if not deep story of the interweaving of bootleg money, violence, and political corruption. It gave me a better grasp of the elements in these phenomena than other more learned sources. The terrible ends of the gunmen are proven, and their longing for peace. It's a useful book, and amazing.

We may, on the other hand, hope that the residual lesson, in the subconscious, aids that slow education that goes on in the people, bit by bit, day by day. They chuckle and talk cynically, but by some mystical process they learn that something is wrong, that rackets are not romantic, that the wages of sin is very often death, and that they are being cheated. They make no formal resolutions not to take a drink, buy a tabloid, applaud screen hokum. They do all three. But they have sat through criticisms and that may create an invisible censor (as the Humanists say, though they are not much concerned with the mob) that may reject the old fakery and send them seeking nobler avenues of escape. I do not think this is false optimism; I believe ideas wear themselves into the public mind. The challenge is clear: feed the hungry with true wonders and true romance.

LEON WHIPPLE

Eliot the Educator

CHARLES W. ELIOT, *by Henry James. Houghton, Mifflin. 759 pp. Price $10.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

CHARLES W. ELIOT, the Grand Old Man of education in America, was one of the great figures in education in all times; his life and work mark an era not ended but hardly yet fairly begun. His biographer must contend with the temptations to adulation; having avoided those he must saturate himself with Eliot's philosophy, whether to swallow whole, criticize or even merely to appraise. Henry James, son of the great psychologist-philosopher, all his life neighbor to Eliot in Cambridge, authorized biographer, so to speak, has admirably succeeded in the first regard. It took no small doing; Eliot's family and friends hovered over, and the Harvard authorities gave him complete access and moral support; he was himself in 1899 and 1904 the finished product of the Harvard College and Harvard Law School that Eliot made. Those were Eliot's palmy days, after the first years of struggle had passed into history; so far as Harvard itself was concerned, his fundamentals were in force and they and he taken for granted. James came out of the law school under the full sun of Eliot's complete dominion, including his hard-won place in human affection and admiration.

Despite then the conditions which might well have produced a work preponderantly fulsome, Mr. James has succeeded in discriminating with notable objectivity. The man was one to be profoundly admired, not quite to say adored; his utter personal modesty, simple directness and honesty, his intense religious faith—religious, however unorthodox—his inexhaustible patience and courtesy in the face of opposition, interspersed with blazing indignation at all forms of injustice, falsity, hypocrisy . . . all these qualities and others admirable shine and live humanly in the figure Mr. James has drawn. As well and as humanly live the weaknesses and limitations; a certain lack of humor, total inability to comprehend or tolerate tastes, tendencies, yieldings on a scale lower than his own. Imagine a man who could reprehend a deliberately curved baseball pitch as an exhibit of intention to deceive! Completely human and credible this portrait; these two extremely well-proportioned, well written, interesting volumes will stand long and high, I believe, among the very best specimens of American biography.

The attentive reader gets, further, a full sense of the degree in which Eliot began the revolution in college and university life in America. He not only breathed life into a moribund college and developed it into a world-famous university, he bombed medical and legal education out of their mummy-cases, out of the clutches of fakers, quacks, and antediluvians, and set patterns and paces challenging and inciting then and for a long time still to come. Virtually every institution of the so-called higher education in America quivered and still quivers from the impact of Eliot's revolution at Cambridge. The real history of Harvard begins, not with its founding in 1636 but with Charles W. Eliot's inaugural address of October 19, 1869. The forty years exactly during which he was building upon that foundation, moving on from that point of departure, are vividly and entertainingly recounted under James's skillful hand. And the later years, after he resigned the Harvard presidency in 1909 until he died in 1924, are shown full of intense and

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widening interest in public and world affairs; a virile and versatile mind, charged with a keen sense of responsibility, functioned under a relentless civic conscience to the last.

Notwithstanding this my congratulation to Mr. James upon a big and difficult job well and workmanly done, I think he has more or less completely missed the real genius of Eliot's job in education; the nature of the fire that he started under the coat tails of the schoolmaster. Great was his service to "higher" education; that was the particular field in which his fate set him. Epoch-making his injection of new method and point of view. Mr. James adequately deals with these things. But education as we know it is a vicious circle; each segment of it, from cradle to doctor's degree, derives its vices from the segment adjoining—on either side. The human virus that Eliot injected is infecting it from the beginning to the end where it begins again. One lays down the James biography without any but the slightest glimmering of what this man did in the field of *public* secondary and elementary education; not only or even especially in college and university but quite as radically and potently in the stages clear to the bottom. In that inaugural he said:

> Not nature but an unintelligent system of instruction from the primary school through the college is responsible for the fact that many college graduates have so inadequate a conception of what is meant by scientific observation, reasoning, and proof. . . .

Among the priceless privileges of my life I count a two-hours' conversation with Dr. Eliot in the spring of 1922. Most of that conversation was devoted to the subject of home background in the early, even infant years as conditioning inexorably the work of the university in its "highest" ranges. His enthusiasm for self-government in person and in school, for free activity, spontaneous interest, was not confined to college and university; he believed in it all along the line and fought for it to the very last. His writings on education, gathered in President W. A. Neilson's, Charles W. Eliot, the Man and His Beliefs, burn with this idea. One must refuse to believe that James deliberately ignored it; the only alternative is to assume that he never realized its tremendous significance.

JOHN PALMER GAVIT

BOOKSHELF

Books may be obtained at the prices given, postpaid of Survey Graphic

YOUNG LAND, *by Gwendolen Haste. Coward-McCann. 75 pp.o Price $1.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MONTANA, young land beloved and dreaded, and the toil and devotion of her men and women are the inspiration of these stinging clear poems. We are glad some of them appeared in Survey Graphic . . . they speak with authentic social passion and stir with memorable pictures of mountains, prairie towns, hard-bitten folk. This native girl knows her dry, bitter land, with toothed hills against the blue, and she has lived her memories into racy, soil-born lines, overtoned with tragedy. It has taken a woman-poet to record the stoic sufferings of wives and mothers, their courage, loneliness, memories of gentler soils and gracious ways. O Pioneers! is not a woman's chant—

> She guessed there wasn't any time for tears
> Because her heart had held them all unshed.

It is a good thing for ease-dwellers to be told so bluntly what it costs to make a state. These are true songs, Americana, from that rich quarry out of which we cut literature.

LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS, *edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Houghton-Mifflin. 535 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IN THE EDUCATION, Henry Adams created one view of the American spirit and distilled the subtle wisdom of his own life. His Letters illumine that classic and the times he lived in with charm, penetration, frankness, and philosophic humor. They are critical, introspective, playful, rich in personalia (vide the remarkable portrait of Stevenson gone native) and the subterrene part of history. How the man absorbed and colored and revealed life! and what a tide of limpid beautiful talk-like English he poured forth for lucky correspondents! This is indeed a citizen of the world. To read the youthful student in Germany, diplomat hanger-on in London, innovator in teaching at Harvard, author in Washington, or South Sea wanderer after his domestic tragedy, is an adventure in personality. The man grows before your eyes: and he is a warmer happier soul than The Education admitted, until toward the end a weary disillusion clouds his view. We share in these pages the pilgrimage of one of the most sensitive and seeking psyches of modern times. Henry Adams proclaimed himself a failure—one of the first public sacrifices to the money and machine age. That is high irony. He left a classic of self-biography and now adds a model for the lost art of great letter-writing.

NEW EMPIRES, *by Karl A. Bickel. Lippincott. 112 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE PRESIDENT of the United Press believes education for journalism should cover world affairs, how nations get their news, and the significance of giant corporations as well as old cultures. For such students journalism is a real career, with adequate rewards. Radio is a new force to be used, not a rival to printed news, entertainment, and advertising. The field is prickly with questions to which the answers are yet experimental and uncertain. The survey of international broadcasting by countries (laws, control, censorship, programs) is extremely valuable. Monopoly by governments is the present trend.

KEEPING AT THE JOB

(*Continued from page* 604)

further falling off in traffic, this particular situation on the B. & O. has been improved, so that the shop force is slightly larger now than it was then. This has resulted from the allocation of the $4,000,000 worth of equipment work already referred to and additional work in equipping passenger cars with cooling systems for summer traffic.

Despite the substantial progress made on the B. & O. in keeping its shopmen at work, it would be wrong to conclude that unemployment has been completely solved on this railroad. Analysis of the efforts of the B. & O. reveal that the first and perhaps most important test in providing regular employment has been met. This test is the ability of the railroad to assure a definite quota of men (a normal force) a job each week of the year. For average and good times, let us say six years out of every seven, the indications are that this normal force will have steady work the year round for forty-eight hours a week. For the lean year it may be necessary to cut to a five-day, forty-hour week for varying periods. The next goal for labor and management is to eliminate shortened work-weeks for every year, good or bad. By the application of the technique so far employed on the B. & O. this second test should be met as successfully as was the first one.

Two features of this technique need to be underscored. First, there is the constructive part played by organized labor on the B. & O. in preventing unemployment; second, the persistence of the joint efforts of labor and management in coping with the problem. Unemployment, like the Arkansan's leaky roof, is not forgotten when the sun shines.

Many Survey readers may wonder why nothing has been said about unemployment insurance, and why it has not been included in the B. & O. program. But a moment's reflection will show that what the 12,000 shopmen of the B. & O. have is in reality unemployment insurance. This type of insurance has paid B. & O. workers more than $20,000,000 from 1923 to 1929 inclusive, as President McGee pointed out to his union followers. This does not include the wage part of the $4,000,000 for the new equipment now being built by B. & O. employes. If, in other words, a railroad is disposed to set aside employment reserve funds it should, as a matter of simple common sense, use this money to pay its employes to repair or build equipment (for which there is always need) rather than disburse it to idle men. As long as there is a substantial reservoir of work, repair, or new construction, an academic type of "pure" unemployment insurance seems wasteful and unnecessary. The situation, however, is different for train-service employes as it is for many other types of industrial workers. For this group there is no potential work reserve, such as the shopmen have. Hence unemployment insurance might well have a place in any comprehensive program of regularized employment for them.

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WHO BEARS THE BUSINESS RISKS?

(*Continued from page* 600)

great reduction in consumer demand, the loss of business and employment.

When we split the total income and analyze what has happened to its different parts however, then a more adequate explanation of reduced consumer demand, loss of business and unemployment is brought to light. The property-owning and managing classes draw as their share of the national dividend in years of depression an amount that is at or near the level of the years of prosperity. The wage-earners draw less, mainly because of the large numbers unemployed and partially employed. Those that are working however, save more than usual for fear that their turn to be laid off will come next (witness the increased deposits in savings banks during 1930). Probably the investing classes also save a larger portion of their incomes during the years of depression. But these additions to the capital funds of the country cannot be used to employ labor, because most industries in these years cannot work the capital they already have to full capacity.

The traditional theory holds that savings are invested in industries which must purchase equipment and material and pay wages, so that labor is employed by the savings as well as by the income that is directly consumed. But this ignores business cycles and assumes prosperity and a steady demand for the savings. At the present time banks have plenty of savings, but the mere fact that there are savings is no evidence that they are used in industry any more than the fact that there are laborers is evidence that they are employed in industry.

When capital is unemployed it does not provide other employment for displaced workers. And because unemployed capital is increasingly guaranteed an income when it is not earning anything, there is mounting necessity to reduce the wages bill by laying off more workers. Hence the greater unemployment losses suffered by those who work for the corporations with the largest investments. The wage losses, however, mean a cut in direct consuming power which prevents capital and savings from being put to use.

It would seem, therefore, that the failure to reabsorb the labor displaced by technical and other changes in years of prosperity is caused mainly by the fluctuations in the portions of the national income that is paid out in wages, while the share of the managers and investors is kept stable. This conclusion could be brought out more clearly if we had space to analyze separately the distribution of income in the main divisions of industry, such as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transportation, and trade. In agriculture and in trade there are so many small individual owners and entrepeneurs whose incomes are not guaranteed that the effect of combining them with owners and managers in the other industries is to offset the evident trend in the typical modern industrial organization.

THE comparisons of the rewards of slave labor and free labor made by Professor John A. Hobson have a direct bearing on our argument. If wage-earners were not free citizens but were the slaves of the corporations like the "electrical men" of the utility companies then, of course, the owner of the slaves would receive not only a return on the value of their labor but an additional amount for the purpose of keeping the capital value of the slaves intact in the face of deterioration from old age, obsolescence, unemployment and so on. These would be fixed charges like other interest and depreciation reserves. Hobson observes that if labor were slaves owned by corporations, a large part of the savings and capital funds of the nation would be devoted to "maintaining and enlarging the numbers and efficiency of the 'human machines'." In the case of free wage-earners these capital charges are only partially made, with the result that the expenditures that would go for the expansion and diversification of human wants are now used in further and more rapidly increasing the numbers and efficiency of the non-human machines. Thus is producing power expanded and improved while consuming power is held back.

If a fair portion of the country's annual income were spent for the maintenance and improvement of the human labor of the country, many of the maladjustments we have been considering would be largely eliminated. For example, if as large a proportion of savings and capital were devoted to the organization and operation of labor exchanges and to the collection and dissemination of accurate labor market information as is devoted to stock and commodity exchanges and to the distribution of stock and bond quotations and market reports, the unemployment that is now ascribed to failure of men and jobs to connect would largely disappear. If more of the savings and capital of the country were spent for vocational guidance to direct the new stream of labor into the channels where it can be most productive, if more were spent for vocational training and re-training of workers to make them quickly adaptable to the constant technical changes in our industries, the necessary reabsorption of those displaced would be more adequately made. It is the failure to reabsorb that is the cause of unemployment, not the displacement.

IT is, however, no part of our purpose to condemn the stabilization of dividends, interest payments, and entrepreneur incomes. On the contrary, the contrast between the fluctuating wage payments and the stability of other incomes has been emphasized to show that it is possible deliberately to control the distribution of incomes so as to make them regular in spite of necessary fluctuations in business. What has been done for the investment and managing classes can be done for the wage-earning classes. If wage payments were stabilized as other incomes have been made steady, consuming power would flow more evenly and regularly to the vast majority of consumers, thus reducing and eliminating many of the business fluctuations both from year to year and within the years.

For the essential weakness of the economic organization underlying our failure to reabsorb displaced labor lies in the distribution scheme that limits the handing of purchasing power to wage-earners to the intermittent periods when they are actively at work. Why should wage workers be paid by the piece, by the hour, by the day, or by the month? We do not make the payments to the investing and managing classes on this basis, and apparently the only reason wage-earners' incomes fluctuate with rainy and dry weather, with heat and cold, with buying seasons, with introduction of machinery and other improvements, with the interruptions of work caused by miscalculations and inefficiency of management and with the alternations of busy and slack years, is because they represent the weakest group in economic bargaining and cannot insist on steady payments. Other incomes to a very large extent are paid out, rain or shine, busy or slack, good business or bad business. Why not wage-earners' incomes?

During the greater part of the nineteenth century most people assumed that poverty and unemployment were somehow connected with overpopulation. We could not produce enough to provide for the constantly increasing population with expanding wants. If anyone suggested that the nation might by deliberate governmental or other social action help to increase goods as fast or faster than population increased, the answer was that the state must not interfere with the "natural laws" of production.

Today the universal complaint is overproduction. Too much wheat, too much corn, cotton, sugar, coal, oil, steel, copper, clothing, textiles throw our industries into fits of depression, causing unemployment, poverty, loss of purchasing power. First we suffer because we can not produce enough; now we suffer because we have made nature's bounties flow too freely. Mankind seems to be damned whether it does or it doesn't.

Having overcome the bogey of interfering with natural laws of production, we have set up a new bogey that we must not interfere with the so-called natural laws of wealth distribution. Obviously if industry used its savings and surpluses from good years to pay wages in bad years instead of paying only interest and dividends to unemployed capital, the consuming power of the country would be enormously increased and much of what appears as overproduction would disappear. But to suggest that the rules of the game of distribution should be changed so that the income of human labor would be stabilized before interest and dividends are paid is to suggest that distribution of wealth can be subject to human control as production is subject to human control. But everyone knows that God ordained the laws of supply and demand to govern distribution of wealth. And woe unto the nation that would try to use them to promote the common welfare!

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THE ORDEAL OF THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE

(*Continued from page* 616)

strife, not at the willingness of the community to come to his defense, not at the good sense of the courts in seeing through the chicanery of the indictment, but at the fortitude and resistance of the hundreds of men within the prison who stood by him and for him, when every apparent advantage should have induced them to do otherwise. Only five out of nearly fifteen hundred criminals were obtained by the promise of reward and the threat of prosecution to testify against Osborne, and these were such self-confessed perverts, half-demented creatures, that their appearance as the only witnesses for the prosecution was considered by decent men as the best evidence that the whole case was built up out of falsehood.

During all of this time Sing Sing Prison was under the management of George W. Kirchwey, who acted as warden in the interim of Osborne's leave of absence. Under him the community organization in the prison not only proceeded smoothly but with an accelerated energy. The different activities of the community were strengthened and new ones were developed. The efforts at education and sanitation especially showed marked results. This experience demonstrated one important fact—that the community organization in prison can proceed and function successfully under any competent and intelligent warden.

With the consent of the new superintendent of prisons and upon the insistence of Dean Kirchwey that he could not and would not continue in office now that his friend was free to return, Osborne resumed the office of warden again on July 16, 1916. Such a day of celebration has never been seen in any prison before or since. Osborne was met outside the prison by nearly 250 prisoners, the band was there, the executive board was there, the "faculty" of the Mutual Welfare League Institute in its gowns, and many other prisoners awaited Osborne's return at the edge of the state property. The prison itself was decorated and a holiday mood was all over the place. And, strange to relate, in all of this excitement and crowding, not a single untoward incident was reported.

THE press took Osborne's return as a good omen, The New York Times saying:

> It is not necessary at this time to seek adequate characterization of those who made such a determined attempt to drive Osborne from the position . . . for they have been utterly defeated, and so great is their humiliation by the complete breakdown of their elaborately worked up case against Mr. Osborne, that they are become subjects of pity. Mr. Osborne himself is only to be congratulated on having had opened again the opportunity to serve—to do the most trying kind of work in an environment which to most men of his breeding and training would be repulsive. There is "nothing in it" for him, according to ordinary estimates, and he will still encounter antagonism from all the forces of evil and reaction. It is a man's job, however, and as a man he will not expect anybody to commiserate his self-chosen hardships.

Osborne's return to Sing Sing was a great personal and political victory. He had not only driven his enemies to cover and cleared his name, but by resuming his post had vindicated his methods. It seemed at last as if he would be free to do his work undisturbed. But the battle against him was not over. It commenced again as soon as he set foot in Sing Sing, and the reason for that was not far to seek. A new gubernatorial campaign was beginning. Osborne had been in office only three weeks when Tammany announced that it would offer him the nomination for governor. In fact, it is known that Murphy, the boss of Tammany, asked him to accept the nomination. Osborne declined and announced in public that he was out of politics, but that made no difference.

The new superintendent, James M. Carter, who had promised him a comparatively free hand upon his return to Sing Sing, began to interfere. Within two months after Osborne's return, the superintendent wrote: "I have come to the definite conclusion that either the new ideas are not workable, or that lax methods are employed in their development." He began to issue orders to the warden through the public press before sending them to Sing Sing so that Osborne (*Continued on page* 624)

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(*Continued from page* 623) complained of not having an opportunity to suggest amendments, changes, and corrections.

The final straw came when the superintendent issued a general order that all long-timers be kept within the prison walls. Upon analysis it was seen that this rule applied only to Sing Sing. In all of the other state prisons the administrative offices are within the walls. Sing Sing, however, is so constructed that the administrative offices, while connected with the main prison by buildings, are not properly within the walls. Every long-term trusty working in the administrative offices would have had to be removed. Osborne interpreted this order as an attempt to drive him from office and telegraphed his resignation to take effect just three months after his triumphant return.

The Democratic nomination had gone to Justice Samuel M. Seabury and Osborne took part in his campaign in self-defense and in defense of prison reform and in the hope of defeating Governor Whitman, whom he considered an enemy of prison reform as well as responsible for most of his serious troubles in Sing Sing.

Governor Whitman was re-elected and in one of his first public pronouncements, he declared for a policy of "iron discipline." It took every bit of energy and patience that Osborne had to restrain the men in and out of prison from doing violence. They talked and behaved as men do who feel that something sacred to them is about to be violated and destroyed. It is a tribute to Osborne's personal influence upon the men in Sing Sing that nothing tragic happened there in those days. He had to convey his influence through underground channels, for he was not permitted to go to Sing Sing, as he wished, to talk to the men and calm them. Fortunately, Warden Moyer, who succeeded Osborne, was a man of good sense; when he came to Sing Sing he discovered the "wonderful thing" and remarked that he had never seen such good discipline anywhere, and he had visited every prison in the country. He is reported to have said to a friend that "the League takes the problem of discipline off my hands and I have time for other things."

AS to Auburn, it seems clear from the evidence available, that years before the riots it was known to Osborne and should have been known to the prison officials, that they were destroying the institution which in 1918 had a morale that enabled them to place long-term convicts upon the walls to keep a prisoner who had hidden out from getting over the walls at night. This could be done by the prison community without sacrificing the personal standing of the men who took their place as guardians of the wall because it was recognized that they were defending the community's interest. It took years to undermine and destroy the Mutual Welfare League in Auburn and when it was so weakened that it could serve no useful purpose within the prison, except to furnish "under officers" for the warden, it was blamed for the riots that occurred. It was clear from the testimony of Warden Jennings that the League was not responsible for the recent riots at Auburn Prison, but it is also clear that so greatly reduced in power and influence was it, that it could not prevent the riots from occurring. If it had functioned as it did in its days of full responsibility and open dealing between the warden and the prison community, the Auburn riots could not have taken place at all. Whatever blame attaches to anyone for the outbreaks in this institution belongs to those who, through ignorance, bad faith, misunderstanding, and lack of insight, undermined one of the most remarkable experiments in prison administration that was ever developed and that functioned successfully over a period of years.

On August 10, 1917, Osborne wrote:

It is a curious world. A little over a year ago I was being tried for perjury by the Grand Jury of Westchester County (N. Y.), and it looked as if the most powerful interests in the state had determined to send me to state's prison. Now, here I am in the naval uniform of the United States, commander of the Portsmouth Naval Prison. I have about 520 prisoners at present, and the number rapidly augmenting. We shall have eight hundred to one thousand by December, I think.

As early as January, 1917, he and two companions were spending a week as voluntary prisoners at the Naval Prison. Here he found the old system in full swing, with shaved heads, huge yellow and red numbers that disfigured the clothing of the prisoners, poor food, and oppressive espionage by the Marines, who were in charge of discipline. He himself was searched some fifteen times a day.

As in Auburn and Sing Sing, the men at Portsmouth found their prison experience under Osborne a great spiritual adventure. It became a school. "It is with a deep feeling of regret that I pen these few lines of farewell to you," wrote a discharged prisoner to his companion. "Somehow or other I hate to leave the place that I have known as home for the past eight months. . . . My fondest hope is that you will continue to back up your commanding officer." One of the important achievements of Osborne's administration was the securing—after much difficulty—of the consent of the Navy to return to active service prisoners who were deemed worthy of the privilege, and during his administration nearly four thousand men were sent back to active service. Osborne wrote to Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels: "It is not every one who, himself too old to fight, has had the opportunity to provide fighters for the service at the rate of a hundred a month. . . ."

The outstanding event in the Naval Prison during Osborne's time is the trip which the Prison Dramatic Company took to Manchester, N. H., some forty-three miles from Portsmouth, to give performances. They went in thirteen automobiles, one hundred unguarded prisoners, with Mr. Osborne leading the way. On their way home it began to snow and one of the cars lost its way. A man in that car tells the story:

At about 11:25 Mr. Osborne gave orders that we might leave for Portsmouth. Twelve of the motor cars already had left and we were in car No. 13. . . . We started out in a Cadillac-eight, with a driver from Portsmouth whose name we did not even take the trouble to ascertain. It was a decidedly chilly night and . . . we lost our way. . . . For the course of the whole night the prisoners in this car were roaming all over the surrounding territory trying to find the *right way back to jail*. There was one man in the party who had been sentenced for "life," one with a twenty-five-year sentence, one with a twenty-year sentence, one with a fifteen-year "bit," four who had ten years apiece and so on down the line until we reach the lowest time for which a man is incarcerated at the Naval Prison—that is, six months. There were two with such sentences in the party. The total period of time, excepting the lifetime sentence, was 386 years.

Now, why didn't those men run away? I don't know; Mr. Osborne, our commander, doesn't know; you don't know—but the fact remains that they did not break a trust which had been placed in them by their shipmates. The answer is the influence of the Mutual Welfare League.

With the end of the War and after nearly three years' service, Osborne asked permission to resign. Secretary Daniels wrote him a glowing tribute, saying, among other things, "You have taught the Navy and the country that prisons are to mend men and not to break them."

THE new head of Portsmouth Naval Prison carried on the administration as best he could and attempted to keep the Mutual Welfare League going. But with the assumption of office by President Harding and the appointment of a new secretary of the navy, the old regime was reinstituted with the Marines again in charge. A prisoner wrote to Osborne:

A disciplinary punishment Corporal —— inflicted was if a man talked from cell to cell in asking a man in the next cell from him for a book was to make a man stand against the wall with both hands over his head and one foot off the ground for a half hour and then either himself or a sentry stand behind a man and intimidate him by telling him to keep his hands up or he would knock his can off. Is that what the public asks of men that served overseas?

The retirement from Portsmouth in 1920 terminated Osborne's active career as prison administrator. He turned to writing, speaking, making prison investigations in different parts of the country, stimulating reform movements wherever he could. A sense of disillusionment and discontent is evident in his correspondence. In 1922 he wrote:

I had a rather lonely but not unhappy Christmas; not so pleasant as the wonderful ones at Sing Sing and Portsmouth. It makes one rather unhappy to realize that the years are passing, while I could do wonderful work in prisons if I were only permitted to do so.

On September 19, 1921, he summarized the struggle for survival of the idea of self-government within prison:

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It has been killed in Portsmouth; it is struggling for its life here in Auburn against a good but stupid warden and impossible principal keeper. Whether we can succeed in keeping it going, I don't know. At Sing Sing it is holding on; but the warden there is an uncertain quantity.

It was not merely the personal criticism and opposition that he had encountered. It was the fact that the work which he had developed was apparently losing ground that proved most disheartening. Surveying the prison situation in 1925 he wrote:

Some superficial changes there have been; but the essential viciousness of the system remains unchanged. We have even lost ground, for the system we established in the Naval Prison has been totally destroyed; and at Auburn and Sing Sing it has sagged so as to be of little value.

These opinions of his later years may be contrasted with those that he held when actively engaged in prison administration. Writing in 1917, when in charge at Portsmouth, he said:

In fact, dear pal, I am one of the most really happy men in the world. Why shouldn't I be—with so many devoted friends? It is friends that count; friends, and the feeling that one is being of some use in the world. I believe that I have helped to do something that will be of lasting benefit—not alone to all men at present in prison, but to all men who are going to be in prison. Could any one have a finer reward?

Walking home in the evening of October 20, 1926, and only a little way from the house, Osborne dropped dead on the street. He had apparently been in the best of health and occupied with his wide and varied activities. This sudden death of its leading citizen cast the city of Auburn into mourning. Friends from many quarters gathered for his funeral, and expressions of sorrow and appreciation were received from all over the world—from people who had known him as companion in a hundred different ways.

But it was his friends in prison and his friends whose lives he had redeemed who felt his death the most. When the guards unlocked the cells in Auburn Prison on October 21 and announced that Tom Brown was dead it was "like the low moaning wind which presages the awful hurricane at sea." The prisoners had lost their best friend. On Saturday afternoon "Tom Brown returned to Auburn Prison"—carried in by ex-prisoners who had come to act as pall-bearers, in an open casket so that his friends might have their last look at him. The prison service, attended by more than fourteen hundred men, was a spectacle never to be forgotten by those who attended it. The casket stood in front of the door to the prison chapel, at the head of a stairway, up which the prisoners came two by two, separating at the top of the stairs into two gray lines and filing silently by on either side. Tom Brown was dead, and no one could again mean to them what he had meant. He had given them the best of his life.

A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS

(*Continued from page* 606)

gain in three ways; by paying less interest on bonds sold during a depression, for municipal bonds can be sold today at better prices than at the top of the boom; by paying less for the work because costs are always lower; by having to give less charity as a city or as individuals.

The proposed constitutional amendment consists of three credit reserve clauses: first, to assure borrowing power to the state that can be used in a period of unemployment; second, to increase the borrowing power of municipalities at such times; third, to diminish the borrowing power of municipalities during good times for use in bad times.

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An emergency may be a great opportunity. Without the sour lemon, no lemonade could (*Continued on page* 626)

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(*Continued from page* 625) be made. Without the bitter experience of depression, no public works legislative program would succeed. The Triangle fire in New York and its holocaust of human lives brought about safety laws for working establishments. Every shocking coal-mine disaster passes a law in some state requiring rock dusting. The sinking of a great liner enacted the Seaman's Act and made safer travel at sea.

The Wagner Act, signed by the President on February 10, is the staff of the umbrella. The proposed state acts are the ribs. The fabric between the ribs is the credit reserve created by constitutional amendment. This is what an umbrella is made of. If less, it is not an umbrella, but a sieve. Either we take the trouble to make an umbrella or the American people continue to get wet.

Governor Pinchot has urged the Pennsylvania legislature to consider a constitutional amendment, increasing the borrowing power of the state and of municipalities during the depression. The governor stated, in his message that the budget already provides for long range planning of public works, and that the administration would develop effective methods. These recommendations coincide substantially with the proposal I have outlined in this article.

Many nations, after many attempts, have failed to extemporize public works. Only those nations which continuously adapt their institutions to a changing world hold their position. The most that public work can do is to keep us drier and to give us time to find out what economic changes are taking place, and what to do about them. When acute overexpansion has taken place, nothing can prevent subsequent overcontraction, but its acuteness may be tempered. Moreover overexpansion may be lessened and thereby its depth of reaction. To this the proposed measures offer to contribute.

Let us hope that Bernard Fay, the penetrating French critic, is right when he says: "The finest accomplishments of the United States have been the result of intuition and necessity. It would seem that Providence in bestowing less leisure and less competent powers of reasoning upon America had endowed it with a clear and judicious instinct."

Yes, we'll have an umbrella some day. We need it now.[1]

PUTTING A WHITE COLLAR ON THE EAST SIDE

(*Continued from page* 589)

Surely if in 1920 such buildings had depreciated to an extent where it would not have paid to salvage them, such a program would be less economic ten years later. This was the view taken by the State Housing Board in formulating its preliminary program in 1926.

In discussing the necessarily high cost of building in this vicinity, the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs offers a suggestion whereby the municipality may help to lower costs without a direct subsidy. Without further legislation it would be possible for the city to purchase entire blocks, reserving the central areas for playgrounds and selling the frontage to private builders, in some cases converting entire blocks into small neighborhood parks. This is in line with the recommendation of the New York State Reconstruction Commission, made in 1920, for "community ownership and control of large tracts of land as a means of securing improvement in housing conditions." In this way private enterprise, benefiting from open spaces not otherwise obtainable would be encouraged and housing costs kept at a minimum.

The razing of this blighted area would offer an opportunity to rebuild with neighborhood units.[2] Of sufficient size to constitute a self-contained community, containing various social and recreational facilities within its confines—including school, church, hotel, theater, community house, park, and so on—bounded by wide thoroughfares which connect it with the "outer world," in the opinion of many thoughtful architects and city planners such a scheme would solve many of the problems

[1] The sources of construction statistics are: The F. W. Dodge Corporation reports, The Engineering News Record, the Division of Public Construction of the Department of Commerce, and Planning and Control of Public Work by Leo Wolman, (National Bureau of Economic Research.)

[2] For a full explanation of the Neighborhood Unit see The Cellular City, by Clarence A. Perry, Survey Midmonthly, January 15, 1930.

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resulting from metropolitan living. In this instance, the distinctive traffic system of the neighborhood-unit idea, besides offering one key to the problem of opening up the Lower East Side, would also prevent the huge rivers of through traffic now entering the district over the several East River bridges and the tunnels of lower Manhattan from inundating the residential district of the East Side.

Let those who are concerned at the thought that the rebuilding of the Lower East Side with high-class apartment houses may result in dispossessing "the poor" without making any adequate provision for their re-housing, remember that Rome was not built in a day. Just so it will be many a year before the rebuilding of the East Side will be a *fait accompli.* The vacancies in tenements in the district at the present time indicate there is actually a plethora of quarters miserable though they may be. And in the meantime may it not be hoped as new and higher-class buildings are constructed, rents in existing structures will automatically fall, vacancies will increase still further, and presto! those less financially able will fall heir to quarters hitherto beyond the possibilities of their purses? While in the natural course of events others will increasingly migrate to outlying sections of the city where land values are lower.

But no matter what scheme is finally adopted, it is obvious that sentimentality must give way to sound economic policy, both for the lasting benefit of the locality itself and of its inhabitants and because of the relationship it bears to the whole city. Surely, simply to continue the Lower East Side as a blighted district would be harmful rather than beneficial to those who live there now. But if developed on a commercial basis, as any large section must be, the value of the land will determine the character of the improvements as well as the rents for business and residential property. Who shall inhabit these properties will be determined by the relative ability of the people to pay the rents.

Perhaps the most encouraging sign that improvement is really around the corner is the cordial reception by officials and social organizations and civic-minded people within and without the district of the survey of the Lower East Side recently made by John Taylor Boyd, Jr., and Arthur C. Holden and Associates for the East Side Chamber of Commerce. For the future of the East Side must be a cooperative project of city-wide interests. The very fact that the formulation of a plan to bring about the revival of this area—a plan based on an economic foundation—was made under the auspices of an East Side group representing all factions in the neighborhood, is significant. For essential as is the recognition by the East Side of its problem, without an understanding of the forces that have produced it, little improvement can be anticipated.

The Lower East Side was the home of the first settlers of New York. Perhaps it may be "discovered" again three centuries later. And hereby perhaps hangs a lesson for other large cities throughout the country with similar pressing problems. Turning to my social worker guide I said: "Tenement reform began on the East Side of New York. The battle with the slum started in Jacob Riis's day and before. Perhaps it remains for the age of efficiency—so called—the age that is accused of often overlooking the human element, to find the way out. Scientific city planning may once again make of the East Side of New York a residential neighborhood of which the 'settlers' of the twentieth century may well be proud."

WHEN HUNGER FOLLOWED DROUGHT

(*Continued from page* 583)

Unemployment Efforts and their Relationship to the Red Cross, Red Cross Organization, and Chapter Organization. The second day is devoted entirely to a discussion of chapter activities. Topics for the morning of the third day are, Control of Health Conditions in Drought Territory, Fundamentals of Disaster Work, What Is Family Case Work? and Family Work Principles as Applied to Drought Relief. The afternoon is given up to finance and statistics, The Collection, Administration and Disbursement of Red Cross Funds, and The Value and Use of Statistics in Red Cross Chapters. The fourth day continues this study with special emphasis on disaster relief accounting and statistical instructions to chapters. The institute ends with general discussion and

(*Continued on page* 628)

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CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

(*Continued from page* 627) questions on the work of the field representative.

Thus accoutered the field workers go out to their tasks of supervising chapter activities manned for the most part by volunteers. The response of the well-to-do citizens in the stricken districts to the call for volunteers was instant and whole-hearted. Many who were active in the Red Cross during the war have come back again; many others, moved by the distress of their neighbors to which they have themselves ministered till their cupboards are bare, are offering themselves for any service. Shopkeepers have turned over their delivery wagons to haul supplies. Business men have closed their offices to give their whole time to searching out needy families and getting help to them. Housewives rush through their daily tasks at home to hurry to the sewing rooms or to manoeuver the family Ford all day long over almost impassable roads carrying aid to distant farms and cabins. Forlorn little backwoods schools are hunted out and regular hot nourishing midday meals cooked for the children. Shoes and stockings and warm garments go out in great bundles. All day long at Red Cross headquarters in the towns, gaunt country folk drift in with the story of their own desperate plight and the rumor of others worse off than they. Sometimes there is a scraggy mule to carry the needed supplies, but more often the man must load them on his own back and tramp long miles to the brood waiting for him.

Just now every nerve of the Red Cross organization is strained to relieve immediate suffering. But its leaders realize that even with the emergency in hand many lean months, perhaps years, are ahead. A true relief program must carry measures to meet the continuing situation. The garden-seed program, now in full swing, is the first step in that direction. The Red Cross has repeatedly demonstrated the efficacy of seed distribution. It conducted seed programs in its Mississippi flood rehabilitation work. It has followed hurricanes with seeds, both in Porto Rico and in Florida. Its seed work last fall undoubtedly cushioned and postponed the full force of the blow inflicted by the drought. That experience has converted many a stubborn farmer, accustomed to planting cotton right up to his doorstep, to planting a garden. "I see the mistake," he says. "I'll never be caught this way again."

The seeds that are being distributed—they are already in the ground in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama—will plant about a quarter of an acre of land. Some eighteen varieties are included in each packet—beans, peas, corn, tomatoes, squash and all sorts of leafy and root vegetables. These gardens will mature quickly and will supply better nutrition to the people, will relieve the drain of grocery orders on Red Cross funds and will give the family a part in its own salvation. Farm folk must plant and harvest again before they resume self-supporting status, but a fruitful garden, in the tending of which young and old may share, will do much to bridge the gap.

The Red Cross undertaking is a mighty one and will be slow to reach a stopping place. What it will cost depends upon a number of factors: the working of the machinery of the Department of Agriculture's $45,000,000 farm-loan fund, the degree in which the states make special provision, the extent to which farm hands and tenants are employed by farmers and planters, the way industry opens up with the coming of warmer weather. Without leaning too heavily on encouraging possibilities, the Red Cross is convinced that the $10,000,000 it has asked from the people of the country, with the original $5,000,000 drawn from its reserves, will be adequate to meet the situation. This sum, vast as it seems, is not great when projected against the wide front of distress stretching over twenty-one states. But with relief determined by need and not by loss, with careful handling of funds, and with continued citizen cooperation, it will be enough.

Drought and the Red Cross

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

The Survey Midmonthly for February 15 carried an interpretation by the editor of the tangled skein of controversy at Washington. Any reader of Survey Graphic may obtain a copy without charge by dropping us a line.

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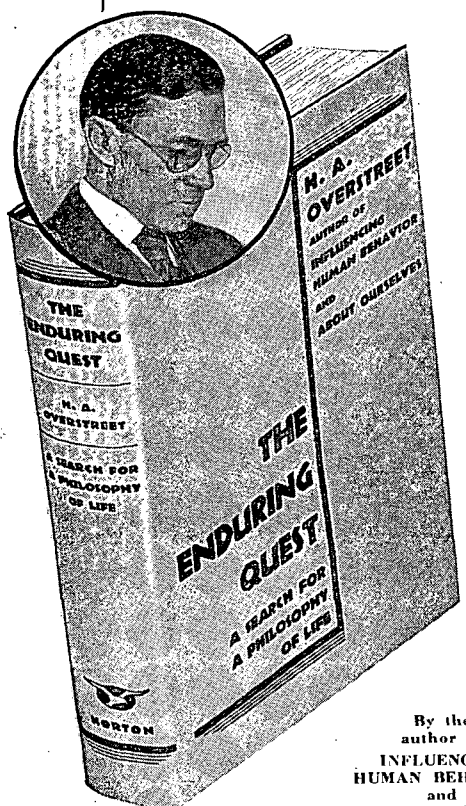

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SLAVERY IN THE MODERN MANNER

(*Continued from page* 593)

Grey Report, the world questionnaire and 1929 conference of the International Labor Conference, and the Blue Report incorporating the draft convention, which is now offered to the world as amended by the 1930 conference.

So the specific credit goes jointly to the League of Nations and its section and commission on Mandates and to the International Labor Office with its machinery of the International Labor Conference and the standing Commission on Native Labor. As chief of the Native Labor Section of the I.L.O., secretary of the Native Labor Commission, secretary in charge of the drafting of the questionnaire and draft convention, and liaison officer representing the interests of native labor on the Permanent Mandates Commission, the late Harold A. Grimshaw was the key man, and often the moving genius in the recent phases of the campaign. Since his death some months ago is attributable to the strain and overwork of the position, to which he gave himself with unrelenting and effective zeal, the completed pact may be regarded as his moral monument.

The more progressive provisions of the draft convention prepared by Grimshaw where seriously threatened, however, by divisions of opinion and conflicting interests among the forty-five members of the 1930 Committee on Forced Labor. The questions of the employment of men under compulsory military service laws for the execution of public works, of the regulation of the practices of the labor-tax generally current in the French, Belgian, and Portuguese African colonies, compulsory porterage service and compulsory cultivation of crops in colonial development projects were among the crucial issues. After much compromise and manoeuvering, the final measure may be said to owe some of its most humane and exacting provisions to a coalition of liberal opinion between the workers group delegates and the British government delegates, who held essentially to the policies laid down in the declarations of the British Labor Party on the subject of colonial labor. R. H. Vernon, who was alternate for Miss Bondfield, the British minister of labor, and who acted as reporter-general for the committee, deserves special credit for his generally successful championing of the strict limitations and guarantees of the original draft, especially on the issues of labor-taxes and labor service under compulsory military service laws. The attitude of the French, Belgian, and Portuguese government delegates was regrettably reactionary on these latter points and was only narrowly defeated; whereas on the questions of compulsory crop labor and contract service to concessionary companies, the Dutch and South African official delegations were also reactionary, under the plea, however, of special circumstances.

The final outcome, however, was a convention that puts some effective teeth into the general principles of the pact. It is provided that where there is state prescribed labor, it shall be for necessary public works only, executed under specific authority given by a law of the home country, for a maximum period of sixty days in a year, paid at the same standard with hours and conditions of work such as prevail for voluntary labor in the same area, and further that persons so called should receive formal certification of their service and be afterwards exempt from subsequent levy. The further restriction of such labor to able-bodied males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, the exemption of school teachers and pupils, the limitation of the total quota to no more than 25 per cent of the adult male population, and the requirement, especially revolutionary in the light of past colonial practice, that such labor shall not "involve the serious removal of workers from their habitual place of residence," all cut at the roots of the worst abuses of past and recent bad practice.

Such a code would have made impossible the inhumane sacrifices of the French Congo-Ocean railway project and its still echoing scandal, or that of the conditions exposed in Portuguese Africa in the well-known Ross Report of 1925, or the circumstances now under international indictment in Liberia. Especially progressive is the

(*Continued on page* 630)

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(*Continued from page* 629) stipulation with regard to what constitutes a "public works project" or "necessary public service," that "members of the community or their direct representatives shall have the right to be consulted in regard to the need for such services." This removes one of the favorite cloaks of the labor-tax levy, by taking away "the idea of tradition and custom as a criterion of the legitimacy of such communal services and substituting the idea of the consent of the community itself expressed directly or through their own representatives." Progressive stipulations as to the gradual reduction of compulsory porterage—another of the great evils of the colonial labor situation—the regulation of labor for official crop cultivation programs and its restriction to the cultivation of lands "belonging to the communities or individuals concerned," as well as stipulations of cash payments to the individual worker, pay for period of transportation to the site of labor, repatriation at the end of the labor service, and medical supervision and pay equivalent to that prevailing for voluntary workers in the same area, are among the outstanding details of this new charter of colonial labor. And if unskilled labor is thus safeguarded at its weakest points, and modern conditions and humane guarantees thrust down on a world scale under the bottom levels of our economic system, we can well see how the covenant becomes more than a limited reform of the abuses of colonial government. Indeed it becomes a sort of world Magna Charta for labor and an international declaration of certain fundamental and inalienable economic rights.

Liberal opinion, however, should not underestimate the reactionary forces aligned against such a program of reform. Everywhere special interests are silently but forcefully opposing measures so threatening to their long-uninterrupted career of ruthless exploitation. Special political ambitions link hands with economic monopolies to defeat in some way or other this impending emancipation of the colonial worker. The French, Belgian, and Portuguese government delegates to the 1930 labor convention voiced the likelihood of reservations by their respective governments, and the sessions saw the sad spectacle of a black French deputy, M. Blaise Diagné, in an excess of patriotism, accepting spokesmanship for the reactionary French official point of view.

ONE can have sympathy with the difficulties of France, Belgium, and Portugal, trying to speed up development in backward areas on war-impaired budgets. However, the plea of "necessary public works" has been too often in their policy a stalking-horse for military and other selfish imperialistic objectives; and especially with France, the conscription of labor keeps suspicious company with the program of an extensive black colonial army. Fortunately for the situation, several of the powers involved have international mandates to perform by which they are already obligated to carry out in those areas the essential policies of the Forced Labor Convention. And like a man trying to walk with one foot in a ditch and the other on the highroad, they cannot long maintain any great disparity of policy and practice between their colonies and their adjacent mandatories. Thus with the pressure of liberal opinion at home and the pull of a new policy already in force at some favorable points in the colonial scheme, the ultimate universalization of this humane code may be looked for with reasonable confidence.

Our own government seems committed in advance to the principles of the Slavery and the Forced Labor Pacts, and their international machinery of administration, at large as well as with respect to the special situation in Liberia. The official American note of November 17 last to Monrovia states that "International public opinion will no longer tolerate those twin scourges of slavery and forced labor." The government correspondence seems definitely to suggest international assistance as the best possible procedure in the Liberian situation. It is true that some of the more flagrant abuses have been checked by the publicity of the investigation, and that the anticipated censure of the King regime by the report precipitated the immediate resignation of President King and Vice-president Yancey. However, any permanent improvement of the situation will involve two things far deeper than the political corruption which was the active agent of the evils: a thoroughgoing economic rehabilitation of Liberia, and a radically differ-

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ent policy for the education and treatment of the native population. This the Commission's report clear-sightedly sees and recommends in a program so extensive as to be impossible without outside help, technical, financial, and perhaps administrative.

In a recent article Raymond Leslie Buell, of the Foreign Policy Association, himself one of the most informed and clear-visioned students of the problem, pointedly says:

What Liberia needs is some well-organized and responsibly executed scheme not only for financial reorganization but also for educational, health, public works, and native agricultural development. [He further suggests:]

The United States and the League of Nations have cooperated in making an investigation into the affairs of Liberia. Why should not the United States and the League now cooperate in working out a plan for genuine reform?

THE obligation of the League is certainly clear. The pact against slavery under which the investigation was technically sanctioned, and that against forced labor under which the bulk of the abuses actually found really fall, are instruments of the League and propose the use of its machinery for enforcement. The obligation of the United States ought to be equally clear. The United States is the traditional sponsor of Liberia and has always assumed the responsibility which that implies. Moreover, under a loan agreement made in 1927 we have appointed the financial advisor to the Liberian government, and granted supervisory and administrative assistance to the Liberian Frontier Force, under whose jurisdiction police control of considerable sections of the native population rests. Further, the largest actual and potential economic investment in Liberia, both from the point of view of local development and the export trade, is American and focuses in the Firestone concession of a million acres for rubber cultivation.

There is, as we have said before, continued responsibility on the part of American capital for a just and progressive labor policy in Liberia. The sudden depreciation of rubber prices just after the inception of the Firestone works has probably been a factor in saving us from exerting a pressure for labor that would have made the labor exploitation of the natives far worse even than the shocking report now before us. A revival of the rubber market or further developments in American capital investment will certainly bring up the old problems and dangers, unless definitely safeguarded. The commission rightly recommends the curtailment of all concession development likely to create exorbitant demands on native labor or produce a recurrence of labor conscription.

It is evident, then, that we have a situation in which a constructive, cooperative interest must be worked out. Our policy and practice as financial receiver and chief investor in Liberia must square with our moral obligations and standards as international judge and moral guardian. This we must carry through, even if doing so involves the modification of the terms of the Firestone concession and the surrender of our present receivership in favor of some international plan of supervision and assistance. In this we might even maintain the main burden of the task, financially and educationally, especially since the Commission recommends the participation of American Negroes in the program for the reclamation of the country. But we must assist in some way that will assure Liberia of our disinterestedness, and in ways that will comport in the eyes of the world with our professed ideals of humanity and justice. This, it would seem, could be most effectively obtained by adherence to the League Pact on Forced Labor, and joint procedure through international channels.

Instead of beginning our contact with this world question with just a formal ratification of an international convention, the United States has before it in Liberia a practical situation involving its basic principles, pressing for more or less immediate action. The Commission in general, and our able representative, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, in particular, have presented us with a constructive, remedial program, which is a serious challenge and a great opportunity for a pioneer piece of scientific, humanitarian work. By participating in it wholeheartedly and capably, we have thus the opportunity of aligning ourselves with the most progressive front in the reforms necessary to correct the flagrant evils of economic exploitation in Africa. It is to be hoped that we shall not fail our duty.

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Contemplations on Travel

AWHILE back The New York Times made an editorial observation on the widespread interest in travel as well as in books, news, and pictures on the subject. This fact is perhaps best illustrated by the sudden success of travelog films. Formerly "so much filler—dull stuff but 'educational,'" now the supply can't catch up with the demand. At least one hundred expeditions, it is conjectured, are making for the far reaches of the earth and "will bring back with them reels of sight and sound from the South Seas, the Orient, India, Africa, the East Indies and the Malay States."

Splendid for movies. This new interest in the life, customs, and surroundings of people in remote countries is a very healthy advance. But while hailing these sources of information, I, for one, am all for the direct method. And in explanation quote from an essay submitted to the Institute of International Education by Hans Georg Bodenstein, one of its exchange students:

> I believe that we should go to foreign countries as young people because we are more receptive; because even if we are prejudiced we are able to readjust our views quickly. On the other hand, I believe that we should not be sent abroad too young if we are to remain true to ourselves. We must first have taken root in our own country before we can learn to think internationally. . . . Whether we become technicians or lawyers, scientists or statesmen, all our actions influence the foreign policy of our country and the understanding of a foreign country allows us to estimate better the consequences of our actions. . . . Living in a foreign country widens the horizon. One learns that there are modes of life possible other than those with which one is familiar.

Incidentally, as a clearing house for international education, the Institute is doing important work. By totting up some of the figures in its annual report for last year, it seems approximately 10,500 students from 111 countries studied in 453 institutions scattered over every one of the United States.

Splendid for our future educators; but what of the laity? I like to visualize the time when everyday people will be shuttling back and forth across the continents. Such frequent change of scene, atmosphere, and contacts would make for better individuals. And better individuals inevitably make for better fellowship. Of course nothing can accomplish this more quickly, it seems to me, than very inexpensive trips. On and off there have been rumors that Edward A. Filene intends to initiate such a project; but so far as I know the field is still wide open. Also there is need of a central information bureau, where details can readily be had well in advance, of what's coming off, and when, on a variety of subjects—art, music, economics, social and political science, and so on—in each country.

JANET SABLOFF

Books and Such

VAGABOND DE LUXE, *by John Marshall. Century.* 319 *pp. Price* $3.50 *postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

ON THE theory of Montaigne's statement that "Travel into foreign countries is of singular advantage. . . . This great world . . . . is the mirror wherein we are to behold ourselves. . . . In short, I would have this [the world] to be the book any young gentleman should study with the most attention," with which he leads off his book, Mr. Marshall managed by hitch-hiking, talking railroad and air line officials into giving

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him free passes, stowing away, and working only where absolutely necessary, to do an extensive bit of globe-trotting through the United States, Hawaii, the South Seas, New Zealand, Australia, Java, China, Siberia, Russia, and Germany. It's a great adventure, but it would seem only a John Marshall could get away with it.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GERMANY. *1930 edition. 194 pp. Published and distributed (free to S.G. readers) by Hamburg-American Line, 39 Broadway, New York.*

ECONOMISTS and industrialists particularly will welcome this comprehensive pamphlet. In addition to a general review of the development and present position of Germany's industrial activities, the contents pages list over forty distinct industries, a section on her domestic and foreign trade, as well as on her banking system. It is hard to resist quoting from the preface:

> We refer, in this connection, to the German practice of applying the results of scientific research to the industries likely to benefit from such application—a practice which has always proved extremely valuable. There is probably no other big industrial country in which the inter-relation between scientific thought and industrial endeavor is so close as it is in Germany.

ENCHANTED BRITTANY, *by Amy Oakley. Century. Price $4.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE THIRD volume of the author's travels in France, for which her husband, Thornton Oakley, supplies the pictures. A lively record of leisurely wanderings through a part of France where the romantic atmosphere of history and tradition still triumph over modernity.

SEEING SPAIN AND MOROCCO, *by E. M. Newman. Funk & Wagnalls. 400 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MR. NEWMAN is perhaps in a class by himself when it comes to exploring countries and publishing a panorama of them for the public. This is the seventh in his series, the earlier ones being on Italy, Russia, Egypt and the Holy Land, Germany, England and Scotland, and France. Last fall in Carnegie Hall, one of the largest auditoriums in New York City, Mr. Newman gave a course of travel talks, illustrated by still and motion pictures, on five successive Sunday evenings.

Miscellanea

A NEWS Bulletin of the Institute of International Education announces the opening in Paris of The School of Peace, which has been founded by L'Europe Nouvelle, a periodical on foreign affairs, to study ways of avoiding war. One of its important activities will be weekly evening sessions on current international efforts towards establishing permanent peace; and among the lecturers will be Rector S. Charléty of the Sorbonne, André Siegfried, League of Nations officials, diplomats, capitalists and labor chiefs.

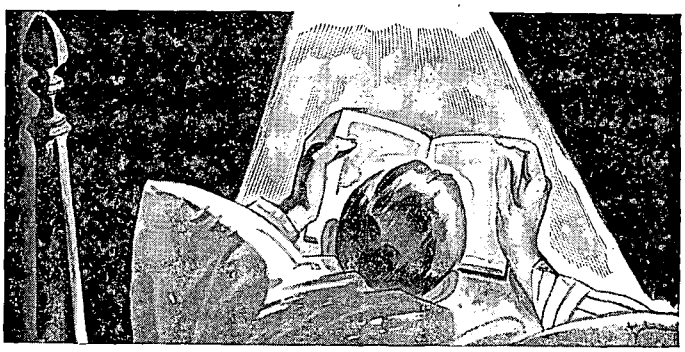
Stark Young, dramatic critic of The New Republic, is the recipient of the Westinghouse professorship to Italy, where he will lecture for six months at the principal universities on modern aspects of American culture, with special emphasis on literature, art and the drama. This is an annual award made by the Westinghouse International Electric Company since 1923 to strengthen cultural relations between the United States and Italy.

Laurence H. Duggan, director of the Latin-American Division of the Institute, has resigned in order to take up work in the same field under the State Department at Washington.

Byron's historic home, Newstead Abbey, with its lake and gardens, has been presented to the City of Nottingham by Sir Julien Cahn, a member of the Travel Association of Great Britain and Ireland, and will of course be open to visitors.

The International Economic Conference to be held in Paris (April 14, 15, 16), under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is a most enheartening step in the direction of that large-scale thinking, planning, and leadership which are so imperative not only in the economic, but in the social stability of our modern times. People everywhere have a stake in the outcome of that gathering.

LIGHT ON THE MYSTERY



. . . . of the guest who couldn't sleep

The house was hushed. Midnight had struck two hours ago. But still the guest in 1422 hunched wide-eyed in his bed.

Wide-eyed and tense! For the shadows were peopled with ghosts and the thin wind at his window was an eerie voice.

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And perhaps he was — a little. At any rate he turned back to his book and read on to the end.

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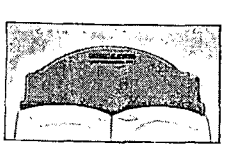

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CARRYING HEALTH TO THE COUNTRY

(*Continued from page* 613)

A second definite and tangible result of the demonstration is its success in convincing the county authorities of the value of a modern health program and the importance of making financial sacrifices for the results which such a program entails. John Walrath, president of the County Board of Health, said in 1927:

It has been shown conclusively that it is possible and practicable to establish a health department in a rural county in New York State and that such a health department can furnish an effective health service for those living in the county. It has been shown also that county authorities are sufficiently interested in such a service to give it substantial financial support, thus ensuring the continuation of the work.

The demonstration has been "sold" to the political authorities. It has had the active support of the local press and of intelligent leaders of opinion, such as the teaching profession of the county. It is no small tribute to the success of the undertaking that last fall, in the face of radical cuts in other departments of governmental service, a $10,000 increase was made in the budget of the county health department. It is most significant, too, to note that a canvass of taxpayers' opinions taken by a mail vote indicated a slightly increased readiness to favor further appropriations for health work as compared with taxpayers in a neighboring county where no health demonstration has been carried on.

The revelation of unsuspected problems in Cattaraugus County has by no means been limited to the health field. Vistas of wider social-service needs have opened up with the progress of the work. As soon as an adequate nursing staff was set at work in Cattaraugus County, there was revealed an almost overwhelming burden of economic handicap, of social dislocation and of mental maladjustment which made the solution of health problems in many instances out of the question. With this burden the nursing staff had neither the time nor the technical qualifications to cope. So for the first time perhaps, a rural social-service staff was organized primarily as an auxiliary to a rural public-health staff.

At its maximum this program included four social workers. They have accomplished much, particularly in the supervision of boarding homes and in general in providing better care for dependent children. They have proved so useful to county and local authorities that two case workers have this year been taken over on the county budget. This is a notable achievement and there is much promise for the future under the excellent new law in New York State which replaces the concept of "poor relief" by that of "social welfare."

Even with three or four social case workers however, it appeared impossible to do more than to cope with the most emergent problems of relief, requiring radical remedies of a legal or institutional nature. At no time has the social-service staff been able to find opportunity for the really fundamental reconstructive measures which form the essence of modern social work. In medical terms, therapeusis has been so absorbing as to leave little time for prophylaxis; as in Alice in Wonderland, it has been necessary to run all the time (*Continued on page* 640)

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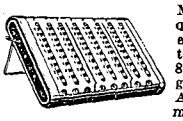

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(*Continued from page* 637) in order to keep in the same place.

This experience tempts one to speculate on the real basic needs for rural case work and to suggest that it might be well to visualize some desirable proportion of case workers to a given rural population. It seems probable that a ration of at least one case worker to 10,000 people might be fixed as a minimum; and one dreams of a staff of, say, seven such case workers in Cattaraugus County, providing a decentralized service correlated closely with the nursing service in each local district.

For the health administrator, the chief lessons would seem to be that a sound public-health program demands a sound social-service program as its background, that the social needs of the rural areas are far greater than we had conceived, and that funds for social case work may sometimes be more essential for health progress than those directly assigned to the health budget itself.

The fundamental conclusion from the Cattaraugus experience is that a rural county needs approximately the same amount and kind of health and social service that is required in an urban area. This conclusion would seem fairly obvious but it is one which is consistently ignored, particularly as a minimum program is frequently all that an economically handicapped rural county can support. Essential human needs are not, however, necessarily related to financial resources. The pangs of hunger are not allayed by assuring the victim that he has eaten all he can pay for.

It will make for clarity of thinking to recognize that every rural county in the United States needs the sort of service supplied in Cattaraugus and a dozen other specially favored rural areas and in all well-organized cities. Furthermore, such a service will cost more and not less in a rural as compared with an urban area on account of the factors of distance which are involved. The actual 1929 budget in Cattaraugus County amounted to $2.20 per capita, of which $1 came from the county and its local subdivisions, 50 cents from the state in the form of state aid and 70 cents from the Milbank Fund. To bring the maternity and infancy and venereal-disease work up to a reasonable standard would require an addition of at least 20 cents more, bringing the total up to the $2.40 generally recognized as necessary in city health service.

There are, then, two fundamental facts which we must face honestly: that rural areas need the same health services as urban areas, and that many rural areas cannot by themselves pay for such services. This is the dilemma and there is only one escape from it, state aid to rural areas and federal aid to such states as are predominantly rural in nature. If we are a nation and not merely an aggregate of competing parishes, the principle of collective responsibility must be clearly recognized in the health field as it is already realized in the fields of road-building and of education. The one really novel and challenging conclusion of President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection was the final one which declares that "The rural child should have as satisfactory schooling, health protection and welfare facilities as the city child." To meet this challenge is one of America's most urgent tasks for the future.

LABORATORY SPECIMENS

(*Continued from page* 609)

to find a subject with which there is associated more superstitious misinformation than centers about rabies and this folk lore passes for gospel truth among many people. The case they see doesn't fit the idea they have acquired and two cases may show such different characteristics that it is hard for the inexperienced person to believe that they are caused by the same germ.

A serious outbreak occurred in a small town which was very fortunate in having a competent veterinarian as its mayor. He made his diagnosis from the actions and appearance of the dogs, but sent them to the state laboratory for confirmation. Every one that he sent in was rabid, so the old chestnut that the laboratory was not examining the animals was soon in circulation again. The village harnessmaker, who claimed to be a "practical veterinarian," and his son-in-law, the shoemaker, made the most noise about it. To hear them tell it, these dogs really had distemper and the laboratory was either reporting them rabid to save itself work or so that the mayor could make some good money by immunizing the rest of the dog population of the town.

There is such a thing as poetic justice—the harnessmaker's dog developed rabies and, unfortunately, bit his grandson, the shoemaker's child. They were not sure then that this dog had distemper and they asked the mayor to send it to the laboratory, but their constant criticism had so irritated him that he refused to have anything to do with the case. They finally sent the dog to the laboratory and the report came back—rabies as usual. The grandchild took the treatment, but still they talked. Their story wasn't going across so well now, so to prove that the laboratory was doing what they claimed, the shoemaker killed a normal dog and sent it in. The report that this dog gave no indications of rabies made these two bolsheviks the butt of many jokes in the hot-stove league.

WHEN the venerable mayor reported this to the laboratory, the temptation was too much for the laboratory director to resist. He wrote the mayor a very formal letter stating that he had reason to believe that the shoemaker had killed a normal dog and sent it to the laboratory. Would the mayor kindly investigate the matter at his earliest convenience and, if this suspicion was confirmed, action would be taken for misuse of the laboratory and cruelty to animals. Of course, a confidential letter accompanied this epistle and the mayor was only too glad to play his part in the farce. The laboratory scrapbook still contains the confession, apology, and plea for clemency which the shoemaker forwarded post haste.

There is an old story of a physician who told a rural school child that he should drink more milk and received the disconcerting retort that they didn't even have enough milk at their house for the hogs. The product of a fertile imagination? Perhaps, but here is one that can be vouched for. A survey of the sanitary conditions on a farm where there were several cases of typhoid fever showed that the people on a neighborhood farm were in danger of acquiring the same infection. The head of this household was warned and urged to have his family immunized, but he didn't warm to the idea. "Aw Doc, that's treatin' the kids too much like a hawg." He never thought of trying to raise a hog without protecting it against cholera.

It takes emergencies, when the bacteriologist loads a portable laboratory into a car and dashes off to where trouble threatens, to reveal how the other half lives and what they think. For example, a village health officer who is at outs with the county health officer has failed to quarantine what has been reported as a case of meningitis and the county health officer invades the sacred precincts of the town and does the job. Then when he finds that he has brought a veritable hornet's nest down on himself, he calls on the state health department for aid in proving the diagnosis and to culture the many people who have been exposed. Add to the long smouldering animosity between these two men and their supporters, politics, religion and antagonistic schools of medical teaching and then drop an unsuspecting field man into the middle of the seething mixture. The county health officer was right in this case, but it would have been just as hard a situation to handle if he had been wrong. One may be an A No. 1 bacteriologist or epidemiologist, but if he smooths out such an affair and leaves town with a whole skin, he is a diplomat. No less!

The next call comes from a state penitentiary where an inmate developed meningitis and died in a few hours and the other 182 men in the same cell block are in a panic as a result of this sudden and spectacular death. Have the warden put you at ease by informing you that he thinks there are two guns and ammunition secreted in this cell block and that he is expecting a riot at any time. Then be locked into the cell corridor with these men, in company with a senile old guard with a club, while you take cultures. The fact that quite a few of these prisoners are in stripes, indicating that they are "dope" addicts or incorrigibles, and that many of them resent the culturing process may cause tingles to run up and down your spine, but the work has to be done. What a delightful sound, the clanging of the iron door behind you on the way out!

Oh! well, variety is the spice of life and the writer likes things well seasoned. Please pass the mustard.

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